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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

November-December 1952

SHOULD SOCIOLOGISTS BE ALSO PHILOSOPHERS OF VALUES?

FLORIAN ZNANIECKI

University of Illinois

In the following remarks I am mainly concerned with the function of those sociologists who are studying and trying to solve social problems. I take for granted that a fundamental difference exists between social problems and sociological problems analogous to the difference between problems of electrical or mechanical engineering and those of theoretic physics. The function of sociologists as theoretic scientists is to develop by inductive methods systematic objective knowledge about social phenomena, and *sociological problems* arise whenever sociologists discover that certain of the theories based on previous research are methodically doubtful. Such theories must be tested by new research and eventually supplemented or supplanted by new theories.

Social problems are practical. They arise whenever social agents who deal, individually or collectively, with human persons or groups as social objects meet obstacles which interfere with the realization of their purposes. If they find ways of overcoming these obstacles, the problems are solved. Of course, most of these problems are of little interest to anybody but the agent and his social object. But when the social actions of influential leaders or groups—political, military, economic, industrial, religious, or educational—affect the cultural life of human collectivities, their problems become important to participants in these collectivities.

In order to solve effectively any difficult practical problems, agents need some objective knowledge of the phenomena which they tend to modify. Such knowledge, in modern times, is mainly based on the results of theoretic sciences. So far as social problems are concerned, sociological knowledge is obviously the most essential, though some auxiliary knowledge derived from other sciences (e.g., economics and psychology) may also be needed. In any case, sociologists have tried to provide this essential knowledge by applying the results of sociological research to

the social problems in which they are interested, and numerous sociologists are now specializing in what may be called applied sociology. There is no doubt that the practical application of theoretic sociology has often proved effective; moreover, the researches made by some applied sociologists have contributed to the development of sociological theory. But there is another aspect of applied sociology which, I believe, has been rather neglected.

Every social problem involves certain values. Its definition is evaluative, for as an object of actions an individual or a group is either a positive or a negative social value to the agent. Furthermore, its solution usually affects not only this individual or group but also other kinds of values. Thus, activities which tend to influence ecclesiastical groups affect directly or indirectly the religious values of these groups; those which influence scientific, artistic, or literary associations affect science, art, or literature; those which influence technical groups affect the production and use of material values; and education, a distinctly social activity, affects all the cultural values which educands will use or produce in the future.

Now we find not only an enormous diversity of values throughout the world, but many conflicting standards of valuation and norms of actions dealing with these values. Everybody who defines and tries to solve a social problem, explicitly or implicitly, selects some of these standards and norms and rejects or ignores others which conflict with his own. Consequently, every sociologist who decides to apply his knowledge to solve such a problem becomes, willingly or unwillingly, involved in controversial evaluative and normative issues.

Consider, for instance, the social problems which arise in the realm of religion. In conflicts between religious groups, a sociologist who shares one of these religions—Protestant or Catholic, Christian or Jewish, Moslem or Hindu—is generally supposed to use his knowledge on behalf of his fellow religionists and against their opponents. In conflicts between adherents of sacred religious culture and promoters of secular culture, the former expect sociological knowledge to be used to counteract what they consider excessive secularization. And, on the contrary, those who oppose a religious culture expect sociologists to substitute secular ideologies for religious ideologies.

Probably the most numerous and important controversial problems in which sociologists have been involved are due to conflicts between nationalities in the cultural sense. Many German, French, Italian,

English, American, Russian, and Polish social scientists have manifested their loyalty to their own nationality by using applied social science on its behalf and against "foreign enemies."

I should like just to mention some other controversial issues, though I cannot discuss them in detail—for instance, the problem of family disorganization. In dealing with this, most American social thinkers favor the modern ideal of a small, independent parental family, based primarily upon mutual love between husband and wife. Social thinkers in some other countries, however, believe that the large, hereditary family, composed of all descendants of the same ancestors, is more valuable and worth preserving.

Or take the well-known problem of counteracting or preventing poverty. Not so long ago many social thinkers, including a few sociologists, believed (and some still do) that poor people in general are psychologically inferior and that their charitable, well-to-do superiors should handle their problems, but now many assert that all poverty is the result of exploitation of the masses by economically powerful classes and the only solution is elimination of exploiters. On the other hand, social thinkers who reject both doctrines disagree as to whether the problem should be solved by private associations or whether the state should assume responsibility for the welfare of all its citizens. We are familiar with the controversies in the realm of education between followers of John Dewey and their opponents.

Now, can we assume that, when sociologists decide to apply the results of scientific knowledge to the achievement of certain practical goals which conflict with other goals, they may simply follow their subjective preferences or conform with the requirements of the groups to which they belong, and that there is no valid reason why they ought to select certain goals rather than others?

No one who knows the history of social thought could make such an assumption. For the controversies about standards of valuation and norms of conduct involved in practical problems have been studied and many of them gradually settled during the last twenty-four centuries by thinkers who have developed a methodical systematic *philosophy of values*.

This term is not a good one, but it would be difficult to coin any better one. It implies a comparative survey of the many diverse values known to philosophers in order to discover which of them are of supreme importance to men and can therefore be used as standards for estimating all the others. Plato, Aristotle (who was also a scientist), the Stoics, and

the Epicureans were the famous philosophers of values in classical antiquity. Thomas Aquinas was the most thorough and consistent medieval philosopher, and of modern philosophers Kant was probably the most original and methodical.

Philosophy of values has become increasingly complex and difficult during the last two hundred years with the steadily increasing knowledge of the many diverse cultures, past and present, and their creative historical growth. Thus, several modern philosophers of values were also philosophers of history—Vico, Turgot, Condorcet, Herder, Hegel, Comte, more recently Toynbee and Sorokin. And this combination had two significant consequences. In the first place, when trying to systematize values, philosophers do not now limit their search for supreme values to their own cultural society, as most of the classical and medieval philosophers did, but extend it to all societies of the world about which they have some knowledge. And, however their systematic conceptions differ, they have one essential principle in common: *those values are supreme which are positively important to all mankind.*

Second, they came to the conclusion that, as the world of culture is creatively growing and more and more new values are being shared by large sections of humanity, this creative growth should continue in the future until eventually all mankind will become united, if adequate methods are used to prevent destruction and counteract conflicts.

As we know, modern sociology evolved from philosophy of history. From the very first it was intended to be a general science of all human societies. It was also expected to serve the ultimate purpose of unifying mankind. That was Comte's idea when he wrote his *Cours de philosophie positive* and *Système de politique positive*. But the growth of sociology as an objective science refraining from evaluative and normative judgments about the phenomena which it studies, the many sociological generalizations developed during the last seventy-five years, the improvement of sociological methods, the numerous new theoretic problems which sociologists have been raising, the expanding range of empirical research—all these have almost completely separated theoretic sociology from philosophy of values, until now most sociologists are hardly aware how much knowledge of past and present cultures an adequate philosophy of values requires or how difficult a methodical evaluation and normative systematization of this knowledge are.

Very few sociologists have been also philosophers of values comparable to those ancient and modern thinkers whom I mentioned before. It is significant that one of the greatest sociologists, Herbert Spencer, was

superficial when he tried to philosophize about values. Of living thinkers I can name only two who have, in my opinion, made original contributions to both these realms of knowledge—MacIver and Sorokin. But, while we cannot expect sociologists who specialize in theoretic research to be also competent philosophers of values, we should insist that those who choose to apply sociological knowledge to the solution of certain social problems be at least conscious of the philosophic implications of these problems and learn enough of past and contemporary philosophic systems to justify their choice of goals.

Let us see, by the way of example, how an adequate knowledge and understanding of modern philosophies of values would affect an applied sociologist who was trying to solve those social problems concerning religions and nationalities which we mentioned before.

Would a sociologist who had such knowledge agree with the theologians of any religion who claim that their religion is the only true one and that all men should share it for their own good, rejecting every other religion? He could not do this, for he knows that every well-developed religion includes some original, unique values, highly important to its believers. Nor could he side with any theologians who demand that the secularization of culture be counteracted, for he is aware that without secularization cultural creativeness would be much slower. Neither would he follow the doctrine that all religions should be eliminated, any more than he would think of eliminating art or music or poetry; for he realizes that this would impoverish human culture and deprive hundreds of millions of people of certain values which they cherish. What he would try to do is to use his knowledge to promote cooperation between the various religious groups, as well as between religious and secular leaders, for some common ideal.

He would not claim, either, that his own national culture is supreme and that all other national cultures should be subordinated to it or eliminated. This is what Nazi leaders did, misunderstanding or purposely misinterpreting the philosophy of Hegel. Instead, especially if he was acquainted with Herder's philosophy, he would recognize that every national culture is valuable because all of them have enriched and are enriching the cultural life of mankind, though some are contributing more than others. What he would do, as many are doing, is use his sociological knowledge to help develop creative cooperation between nationalities and stimulate the creative growth of a new supernational world culture as a common bond uniting humanity.

And if he applied the fundamental principles which modern philosophers of values have developed to the two main ideologies underlying the present world struggle—Russian communism and Western democracy—he would discover that the former is incompatible with these principles. For it is too dogmatic and exclusive to be accepted by all mankind unless imposed by force, and that would mean the impoverishment of human culture in general and the inhibition of its future creative growth. On the other hand, the democratic ideology has evolved from those philosophies which emphasize the supreme importance of peaceful unification of humanity and the creative growth of culture.

Thus, I believe that every applied sociologist—perhaps every applied scientist—who wishes to contribute something, however small, to the future of humanity should be able to think methodically as philosophers of values have been thinking and should know the main ideals developed by them to guide him in his choice of the goals to be achieved.

But how about theoretic sociologists? Do they also need a philosophy of values to guide them in their work?

As a matter of fact, they already know, or ought to know, that the greatest modern philosophers consider strictly objective scientific knowledge to be one of the most important achievements of mankind, and that some of them (beginning with Comte) judge the continuous growth of theoretic sociology more essential than that of any other science for the future of humanity. This is certainly enough to justify theoretic sociologists not only in their devotion to their science but also in their avoidance of all practical issues that might interfere with their basic task.

There is one practical problem, however, which they cannot avoid. From their own observation and historical evidence, they know that freedom to carry on inductive research and make theoretic generalizations is an indispensable condition for the development of every science. They should consider themselves in duty bound to do what they can to gain or preserve this freedom.

THE SCHOOLS AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

PHILIP M. SMITH

Central Michigan College of Education

During recent years the problem of the role of the school in relation to juvenile delinquency has aroused much public interest. Especially has this been true since the period of World War II, when there was a sharp increase in the number of cases referred to the juvenile courts. Law enforcement, character building, and social agencies were quick to realize that the schools are in a strategic position to help detect and combat incipient delinquency. Since they have children under close observation for a longer time than any other social institution except the home, their opportunity to do a good job in this respect is thought to be unsurpassed.¹

As in the case of other community agencies, however, the total impact of the school itself upon children's attitudes, ideals, and behavior patterns is impossible to determine scientifically.² But, in theory at least, it is a great socializing force, teaching the child how to get along with his fellows while training him to take his place as a responsible citizen in a democracy. The type, frequency, and intensity of social contacts to which the school exposes him attest that it is a potent influence for good or ill.

I. THE SCHOOL AS A FACTOR IN DELINQUENCY CAUSATION³

Although there is no proof that the public school is a cause of delinquency, its importance as a contributing factor must not be overlooked. There is growing evidence, derived from case histories and other sources, that our schools in general fail to meet the basic needs of a substantial minority of their pupils. If truancy be the "kindergarten of crime," it is essential that its underlying causes be carefully investigated. When this is done, much of the fault is found to lie at the door of the school

¹ The report of the National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, held in 1946, stated that the school "can and should be the leader in a direct frontal attack on the problem."

² It is noteworthy that Hartshorne and May found a correlation of only .03 between children's moral judgments and those of their school teachers. ("Testing the Knowledge of Right and Wrong," *Religious Education*, 21:539-54).

³ Data collected from some three hundred classroom teachers and several hundred students furnished the basis for the major portion of this discussion.

itself, because of failure to adjust the program in accordance with the requirements of social change. Some critics insist that our educational system is a conspicuous victim of cultural lag. Indeed, educators themselves customarily go on record as deploring the failure of traditional curricula and methods to meet the needs of problem children. While they extol the virtues of individualized instruction and condemn the weaknesses of regimented classrooms, remedial measures are introduced at an alarmingly slow pace.

The problem of discipline. A frequent source of difficulty in the schoolroom is the need for preserving "order" at all costs. Under constant pressure from parents and administrators, teachers are often induced to by-pass psychologically approved methods learned in college to save time in gaining control of the situation when trouble arises. Some doubtless regard obedience to authority as something almost sacred and the rebellious pupil as an outcast. Others are temperamentally unfitted for teaching at the outset. Instead of meeting aggressive behavior with kindness, they further aggravate the emotional disturbances of children who have been browbeaten at home by resorting to scolding, ridicule, or the use of force. It is significant that numerous institutionalized delinquents, while probably rationalizing to some extent, blame unfriendly teachers, lacking in sympathy and understanding, for much of their trouble.

While nominally committed to modified democratic procedures, many schools are nothing less than authoritarian in practice. Children are sometimes punished for infractions of rules which they do not understand. Periodic changes of the rules, as well as increases in their number, only add to the confusion. But certain of the more conservative administrators seem of the opinion that unquestioning obedience to school regulations is a necessary "preparation for life," thus unavoidably minimizing the importance of inner voluntary disciplinary controls.

Doubtless much of the dissatisfaction with school is due to the drab monotony of regimented classrooms. In this connection, Dr. Fritz Redl says:

Boredom will always remain the greatest enemy of school discipline. If we remember that children are bored, not only when they don't happen to be interested in the subject or when the teacher doesn't make it interesting, but also when working conditions are out of focus with their basic needs, then we can realize what a great contributor to discipline problems boredom really is.⁴ Boredom, it might also be stated, is the friend of chronic truancy.

⁴ *Discipline for Today's Children and Youth*, Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development, N.E.A., 1944, p. 53.

Competitive grading. Possibly no other aspect of school life is productive of more discontent, jealousy, and teacher-student misunderstanding than conventional grading. Although an increasing number of schools of the more progressive type are discarding traditional practices in this respect, they comprise as yet but a small minority.

Much has been written about the damaging effects upon personality of bitter rivalry for grades, but little seems to have been done about it. Children of all types and descriptions, representing marked individual differences and a wide variety of cultural backgrounds, continue in effect to be forced into a common mold academically, thus contradicting all accepted principles of individualized treatment. An outgrowth of the competitive struggle for grades is the stigma of failure that is so often attached to the unfortunate child unable to keep pace with his classmates. When interpreted as a symbol of mental inadequacy, inability to do well in his studies can have a serious effect upon a highly sensitive individual and thus lead to antisocial behavior.⁵

Many able educators maintain that the present grading system is as satisfactory as any that can be devised. But others, equally sincere, insist that the child should be encouraged to improve himself in view of his limitations as well as his capabilities and be marked on the basis of his total adjustment. In this way it is held that he can be encouraged to rise to the highest level of attainment of which he is capable, while sharing group recognition for cooperating with his classmates in useful projects. Certainly there is cumulative evidence of widespread cheating, even among "good" children, in the present unwholesome contest for grades.⁶ To many educators it seems anomalous that we magnify the virtues of cooperation in our institutional life in theory but reject its application to an area of great interest and importance to youth in practice.

II. THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY IN DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

During the past decade our schools have made striking progress in setting up programs of prevention. Reports from large cities in many sections of the country describe some of these plans in detail. For the

⁵ For a further discussion of this topic, see P. M. Smith, "Antisocial Aspects of Conventional Grading," *The Educational Forum*, March 1950, pp. 357-62. In reply to the question "Do you think that the present grading system tends to be conducive to antisocial behavior on the part of students unable to keep up with their classes?" 46% of a group of 1,000 high school students said "yes," 39% said "no," and 15% were undecided. Corresponding figures for college students were 60%, 32%, and 8%, respectively.

⁶ Of the students questioned in the Purdue Opinion Panel (June 4, 1949), 44% thought that cheating was caused by undue emphasis on the importance of grades.

most part, however, they conform to a general pattern which has been successfully tested on an experimental basis. Such minor variations as exist may be ascribed to the modifying aspects of peculiar local conditions, in addition to limitations imposed by such factors as resources and personnel.

Of greater significance than organizations and programs, perhaps, is the fact that our schools have been alerted to the danger of delinquency and have developed a new sense of community responsibility in facing it. There is a growing appreciation among educators of the necessity for cooperating with other youth-serving agencies to achieve the best results. From a review of various publications of the National Education Association, it can readily be seen that delinquency prevention is assuming a place of increasing importance in educational literature. Similar interest in the problem is observed among the associations at the state level. The schools are definitely becoming delinquency conscious.

Among the specialized services which large city school systems offer for the benefit of youth are the following: child guidance clinics; guidance programs designed to help children with personal, social, and vocational problems; supervised social and recreational programs, including hobby clubs and teen-age centers; and social casework conducted by school social workers, more commonly known as "visiting teachers." Ordinarily, the approach is many-sided. The teacher refers an emotionally disturbed child to the clinic for diagnosis of his difficulty. In turn, the child may be referred to any one of a number of community agencies doing casework or group work, after consultation with his parents, should such supplementary aid be needed.

The school social worker serves in a liaison capacity, making contact with the child, his teacher, his family, and various social agencies of the community. Her principal function is to help discover the social factors that may be responsible for children's behavior problems and to enlist the aid of appropriate remedial specialists. Cooperating with law enforcement officers, both directly and through the medium of juvenile aid bureaus and crime prevention associations, many such workers in heavily populated urban areas perform an invaluable service in relation to delinquency control.

From the standpoint of the long-term trend and the over-all picture of community organization, it is the consensus of experts in the field of delinquency prevention that the coordinating council approach shows the greatest promise of success. In such a setup the schools occupy a key position. Not only do they aid in identifying problem children, and refer

them to agencies capable of bringing about their rehabilitation, but school personnel are taking an increasingly active part in supplying the leadership essential for the determination of policies and the planning of integrated programs for combating delinquency.

III. SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL PROGRAMS OF DELINQUENCY CONTROL

In this connection, the problems can be put in two main categories: (1) those for which school personnel are directly responsible and (2) those stemming from unsatisfactory institutional and community conditions. Under certain circumstances these overlap, with no clear-cut line of demarcation.

*Problems related to school personnel.*⁷ It is a matter of common knowledge that many teachers are inadequately trained for the task of handling behavior problems. Lacking an understanding of child psychology, they tend to misinterpret the significance of certain overt manifestations of personality difficulties. Partly because of their own puritanical attitudes, for example, they feel constrained to deal harshly with sex offenses of any kind, regardless of the child's motive or of extenuating circumstances. Then, too, teachers seem inclined to reflect middle-class conceptions of what constitutes "normal" behavior for children. Consequently, a premium is placed upon such traits as neatness, politeness, cleanliness, and punctuality. The use of "bad" language, fighting, lying, petty stealing, and even smoking are shocking offenses to well-meaning teachers unfamiliar with normal patterns of conduct among some lower-class families. What is so often not understood is that the child's misbehavior is sometimes an attempted adjustment to conditions which to him seem "abnormal" and under which he is trying to do the best he can.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that the roots of delinquency are often found in unfair treatment accorded members of minority groups. Both teachers and administrators may have strong prejudices, of which they may be unaware, thus rendering a strictly judicial attitude impossible. Discrimination against Negroes in some schools is the rule rather than the exception. Children from "the other side of the tracks," whose parents seem to take little or no interest in school politics, are usually at a great disadvantage in comparison with those from better-

⁷ Reference is made to teachers and administrators.

class homes.⁸ Despite the fine accomplishments of the "Springfield" and other plans, Negro children face serious job discrimination after leaving school. In all fairness, it must be said that many teachers deplore the situation but are sensitive to adverse pressures if they advocate reforms. The same is true of certain administrators who try to "work both sides of the street" to protect their own interests. All in all, minority groups are at a decided disadvantage in many school systems, a situation conceivably provocative of antisocial behavior.

Problems related to community conditions. In schools located in areas of high delinquency risk there are especially difficult problems. The task facing the teachers is of such magnitude that, working in overcrowded classrooms with inferior equipment, they can hardly be expected to do a good job. Socially disorganized areas of large cities themselves are in great need of assistance from outside groups with adequate finances and trained personnel. A gulf of misunderstanding often exists between such schools and their immediate communities. With the breakdown of traditional neighborhood consciousness arising from the type of population inhabiting these areas, there is a greater need than ever for the services of trained social workers to supplement the efforts of the teachers to combat delinquency.

In many communities poor morale among the teachers is a distinct handicap to the proper functioning of preventive programs. Among the reasons for this are the following: (1) lack of popular respect for the teaching profession, with the views of teachers not being accorded the same weight as those of other professional people; (2) low salaries and lack of security in their jobs, with resultant dissatisfaction and unrest; (3) excessive pupil loads, combined with unreasonable demands of local organizations upon the teacher's time; (4) uncertainty as to the limits of their authority, both by reason of administrative restrictions and fear of offending parents, thus placing their jobs in jeopardy; (5) failure of adults to cooperate by setting a good example for youth; (6) refusal of influential citizens to help eliminate social conditions conducive to delinquency when certain vested interests are involved; and (7) unappreciative attitude of youth itself and community indifference in general.

⁸ In regard to the problem of truancy, it is significant that the greatest single cause of absenteeism in the Detroit public schools in 1951 was lack of shoes and clothing.

Interested in learning to what extent teachers themselves consider existing programs effective, the writer polled a sample group on the following question: "Based on your own conception of what a good program ought to be, what kind of a job do you think our public schools are doing in preventing delinquency?" The results were as follows: Excellent, 7 per cent; Very Good, 14 per cent; Fair, 41 per cent; Poor, 25 per cent; Wholly Unsatisfactory, 13 per cent. It is apparent from these figures that a substantial proportion of the teachers were not enthusiastic about the degree of effectiveness with which programs coming to their attention were functioning. Yet they were in complete agreement as to the desirability of a systematic approach to the problem from the standpoint of the school and the community.⁹

Conclusion. In several respects our public schools seem responsible for practices inducing emotional disturbances in certain children which may lead to overt antisocial behavior. There are strong indications that the schools have become increasingly aware of the problem of delinquency and that they have inaugurated some outstanding services to combat it. At the same time, there is unmistakable evidence of the need for much improvement in the functioning of plans now in operation, and this will require the wholehearted support of the entire community.

⁹ The sample included 300 classroom teachers who also supplied other data forming the basis for certain portions of this article.

Suggested references: W. C. Kvaraceus, *Juvenile Delinquency and the School* (New York: World Book Company, 1945); M. H. Neumeyer, *Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1949). See also report of the symposium, "Juvenile Delinquency and the Schools," National Society for the Study of Education, Forty-seventh Yearbook, Part I, 1948.

A PATTERNED RESPONSE TO SEGREGATION OF THE SEXES

CHARLES B. SPAULDING

Santa Barbara College, University of California

On a midsummer day an unusual letter uncovered before an amused press and community a glimpse of the wistful loneliness which results from the pattern of social and ecological separation of many older unmarried Americans. On that day the Associated Press carried a story concerning a letter written to the Department of the Interior in Washington, D.C., by a widow, residing in a small, suburban California town, who was seeking information about possible places where suitable husbands for widows might be found. She purported to speak for a group of widows ranging in age from thirty to sixty years. These ladies were discouraged with the possibilities for remarriage in Southern California. They felt that the men in that area were looking for transitory affairs unbecoming to "decent" women and were not interested in stable love and home life. They hoped that the Department might furnish them the names of places where lonely men who would make suitable husbands might be found.

The story was widely distributed by the news services and printed with varying interpretations by many local papers. The general tone of the stories seems to have been one of derisive amusement, and the solid citizens of the community from which the letter came chuckled and made "smart" remarks for each other's edification. But the good citizens, secure in their own respectable roles, reckoned without the mass of lonely persons whose roles in life were less satisfying. Almost immediately various public and semipublic agencies in the town began to receive letters and communications from widely scattered persons asking for contacts or giving advice and information.

Inquiry into the origin of the stimulus letter and an analysis of the character of the replies reveals one aspect of a pattern for overcoming the frustration which arises from the fact that lonely unmarried men and women are segregated from each other in the communities where they live. The segregation is shown in this instance by the fact that the lady who wrote the original letter held a white-collar job in a governmentally operated agency and lived in that section of the city with the lowest sex ratio of the six census tracts which composed the small city and the immediately adjacent unincorporated territory. What could be

learned about the other "widows" (including divorcees) suggests that they were comparable in occupational classifications and locality of residences. The original letter seems to have been the earnest and wistful reaction of a woman who was perpetually writing letters to governmental agencies. She was mortified to actual tears by the unexpected publicity.

The figures below (1940 census figures) tell a part of the ecological story. The first three census tracts in the order given comprise the incorporated city, and the next three are closely adjacent contiguous territory. The sex ratios are given within the parentheses that follow the tract numbers. These numbers and ratios are as follows: 544 (97), 545 (82), 546 (92), 542 (105), 543 (116), and 547 (105).

The sex ratio for the six census tracts taken as a unit turns out to be slightly more than 98.¹ In other words, the problem of these women was not so much that there were not enough men, but there were not in the right places the types of men which the cultural backgrounds of these particular women taught them to want.

That segregation of this type is not unusual is suggested by studies of other communities. Warner and Lunt in their study of a small Eastern town noted the diversity of sex ratios between social classes and between the corresponding areas of residence within the community.² Several studies of larger cities lay a basis for the hypothesis that many unmarried women tend to collect in certain areas and to work at jobs which do not bring them into contact with eligible men of the type from which they have come to believe they should select a mate. The pattern of segregation for Los Angeles, California, can be deduced from the work of Shevky and Williams.³ Calvin Schmid's study of Seattle indicates that the pattern in that city is much like that of Los Angeles.⁴ Of course, much of the work done by the University of Chicago in analyzing its home city bears out the same contention. The characteristics of the land of homeless men and of the female denizens of the rooming-house districts are classical features of that well-known body of data.

¹ The writer can verify on the basis of personal knowledge that the 1940 figures represented the situation extant at the time of the incident with reasonable accuracy.

² W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), especially pp. 229, 423, and 445.

³ Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949), especially p. 79.

⁴ Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Trends in Seattle* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1944), especially pp. 87 and 91.

Exactly what factors produced isolation and loneliness in the lives of the men who wrote letters seeking contacts with the widows could not be deduced from their letters, except in the case of Letter No. III (reproduced in part below), which constitutes an analysis of the whole problem in terms of ecological and social segregation. But the bulk of the letters did seem to represent an approach to the problem of overcoming isolation from persons of the opposite sex who would make suitable mates. In fact, fifty-five of the sixty-three items of all sorts which were secured by this writer were letters from men requesting contacts with some of the widows, and most of them seemed earnest and sincere. One or two of the requests seemed to the reader to be intended as cynical quips, and one bore evidence of having been written by a man deep in his cups. But the general impression gained from the character of the writing, including grammar and spelling, was that the mass of the communications came from men with no very great amount of formal education who had a wistful hope that some companionable result might eventuate from the effort.

The three following letters will give some idea of the kind of communications involved. The first item is as typical of the majority as any one letter can be representative of such a varied collection of data. The second letter was the shortest one received, while the third was the most sophisticated and philosophical of all.

Letter I

Chamber of Commerce
_____, California

Dear Sirs:

Read an article in the (name of place omitted) newspaper regarding the lonely widows in _____, California. I am interested in meeting one of these widows. I prefer one about 35 years of age.

I am a bachelor 44 years of age; brown hair; brown eyes, fair complexion; 5 ft. 7 in.—160 lbs. Fairly well fixed, in the life insurance business with a good income. Would like to correspond with one about 35 years of age.

Hoping you will kindly take care of this matter for me and thanking you in advance; I remain,

Letter II

Chamber of Commerce

Dear Sirs:

Please name some or one of the "lonely California widows." I have words for them.

Letter III (The envelope was addressed to the local newspaper.)

Dear Ladies:

Your letter to the Department of the Interior touches me deeply. I have felt your problem personally, but the feeling was that the shoe fit the other foot.

In our section of the State of California, which unless I've been misinformed also includes——; we have about three single men to every single woman. If you go to any public gathering from a Rodeo to an auction, the men predominate.

From Santa Barbara to Carmel you will find this plurality of men. The least objectionable place available to meet a lady available to men is the community dance, and from Los Angeles to San Francisco, there will be one man standing up without a lady to dance with, for every man who has a pardner.

The only place I've found where there are more women than men, and where these ladies would allow themselves to be addressed, is at prayer meeting and there they are married, leaving their husbands at home to pray in private,—and take care of the kids.

You do have a serious point. Local communities and the State and Federal Government spend money and attention by fantastic figures to build this and that, and regulate everything but the social welfare of the people.....

.....
I ruled out as being too dangerous a gamble, the selection of a wife and mother—the tavern. The ladies who attend lodge functions are universally wives of members, so that left the public dance and the church. Having been brought up in a church-minded family, I chose the latter.

I attended regularly, made friends with the minister—even telling him I would like to meet any ladies with family aspirations. He listened attentively, and in substance told me that he appreciated my individual problem, but felt the church could not undertake to enter into—as he put it, “matrimonial promotion.” I was rebuffed there but went to another church where I joined the choir. There I sang for a year and a half, but without meeting a single unmarried woman, except teenagers.

.....
In order that this letter may not seem merely a critique of our civilization, I will say that I am single, of English-Irish-Scotch and Scandi-

navian ancestry, with a good college education, with over \$50,000 in property, a moderately successful writer, musically inclined, and with several hobbies mostly inclined towards outdoor activities.

. . . . Lastly, if you are a single lady, there are 5,000 single men in our country, come up.

Very truly yours,

In spite of the variations in content, length, handwriting, grammatical construction, and style, certain recurrent characteristics soon became evident as one read those letters seeking contacts. Among these regularities were an emphasis on economic capacity and a personal description of the writer. Twenty-six men mentioned economic conditions in one way or another. Some naturally indicated that they possessed homes, farms, or jobs which would provide economic security for a wife; but many indicated that they were not well off, were looking for work, or were hopeful of better fortune in the future. A few seemed to suggest that the woman would have to provide the economic basis for any possible marriage, while one old man was obviously seeking a woman who could take care of him so that he could escape from the protective care of his children.

Many details concerning personal appearance and feelings were given. Some twenty-six men gave information about weight, height, coloring, disposition, or other such traits. Eleven men stated that they were lonely. Two men described themselves as "elderly," while twenty-seven gave their ages in years. The distribution of these ages follows: 30-39, eight; 40-49, ten; 50-59, four; 60-69, four; 70 and over, one.

Frequently the letters described the woman sought as well as the man writing. Twenty-one letters specified a suitable age for the woman, and many added other details: She must be a "good" woman and must not drink or smoke. She must be not over 5 feet, 4 inches in height, or she should be the "Latin type." One man wanted a woman weighing not more than 110 pounds, since his late wife had been a 200-pound woman.

A number of incidental aspects of the communications suggested that the persons replying had reacted in terms of an established conception of matrimonial advertising. Twenty-two of the letter writers included the clippings they had seen, and two suggested that advertisements be placed in the local paper for them. Several of the writers referred to the news story as an advertisement.

At least two men arrived personally in the town to investigate the opportunities. One tried to place an advertisement in a local paper, and

the other reported at the Chamber of Commerce—having just arrived, according to his story, from Seattle, where he had left his job to undertake this venture.

Sixty-three of these communications fell into the hands of this writer because most of the news stories did not carry the name of the person who wrote the original letter. Therefore, the correspondents had to address their epistles as best they could. That no embarrassment was involved was revealed by the unapologetic addressing of communications to public persons and agencies. Some twenty-six showed their sublime faith in the Post Office Department by addressing letters to the widows directly in several variant fashions, such as "Whittier Widows," "Lonely Widows," "Whittier Widows Club," etc. Twenty-three persons addressed the Chamber of Commerce, eight the local daily newspaper, two the Postmaster, one the Chief of Police, one the "County Clerk," and the exact addresses of two were lost before analysis. Some of the letters contained requests for forwarding, but most of them requested information for making contacts.

The lonely man seems to be found in all parts of the nation. No special concentration in farm territory, small towns, or big cities could be discerned in analyzing the data. The wide geographic representation among the writers can be seen from the numbers of letters originating in different states, which were as follows: New York, 9; New Jersey, 4; Indiana, 1; Illinois, 3; Michigan, 1; Iowa, 1; Missouri, 1; Kansas, 2; District of Columbia, 1; Florida, 4; Kentucky, 1; Tennessee, 1; Arkansas, 1; Oklahoma, 2; Arizona, 1; Washington, 5; Oregon, 2; California, 22; unidentified, 1.

The relatively small quantity of data upon which this study is based cannot, of course, establish any sociological conclusions, but these data do strongly suggest several hypotheses which would merit more extensive study. They suggest that the normal processes of community, and especially urban, development tend to segregate older unmarried persons geographically by sex, that the separated sexes tend to develop divergent subcultures which make many of them unsuitable mates for each other, and that this ecological and social segregation has given rise to patterns for seeking personal adjustments which are regarded by the dominant members of the communities with considerable derision. Such tendencies must be of obvious interest to students of marriage and family life, of community processes, of social welfare requirements, and of education.

SHREDDED MEN AND DESICCATED SOCIETY

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SOCIOECONOMIC VALUES

ROCKWELL D. HUNT
*Dean Emeritus of the Graduate School,
University of Southern California*

John A. Hobson, best-known British welfare economist, undeviating proponent of the doctrine of intimate interrelationship between economics and ethics and profound student of social values, gives me my present topic. In his *Economics and Ethics* he writes:

From the organic standpoint, the subdivision of labour, by which each man in a society devotes the whole of his economic activity to some single process, appears to stand self-condemned. For man as an organism was manifestly evolved for and by the integrated use of all his organs in a large variety of activities conducive to personal and specific survival and growth. An exclusively economic analysis of production shows us "shredded man." The heaviest human indictment of our current economic system rests upon this charge.

The quotation from Hobson suggests many others bearing on the scope of economics, of which I present a single one from a foremost American economist. Wesley Mitchell in his essay on "The Prospects of Economics," published more than twenty-five years ago, has this to say:

In becoming consciously a science of human behavior, economics will lay less stress upon wealth and more stress upon welfare. Welfare will mean not merely an abundant supply of serviceable goods, but also a satisfactory working life filled with interesting activities.

As a social scientist I hold that economics is not properly the science of wealth in relation to man—it is rather the study of man in relation to wealth. The core of it is *human*: if it is not human it is not economic. The economist has no monopoly on the value concept. Economic value is but a single species of the genus value—other species include aesthetic value, artistic value, philosophic value, social value, religious value. Failure to recognize the existence and power of any of these recalls to mind the dullard who is said to have asked Aristotle why we spend so much time with the beautiful; whereupon the "master of them that know" made reply, "That is a blind man's question."

John Stuart Mill clearly stated the difficulty in his *Logic*. He pointed out that the study of a *part* of things "cannot in any circumstances be expected to yield more than approximate results." Continuing in the words of A. C. Pigou,

Whatever affects, in an appreciable degree, any one element of the social state, affects through it all the other elements. . . . We can never either understand in theory or command in practice the conditions of a society in any one respect, without taking into consideration its condition in all other respects. There is no social phenomenon which is not more or less influenced by every other part of the condition of the same society, and, therefore, by every cause which is influencing any other of the contemporaneous social phenomena.

As a graduate student in Johns Hopkins University many years ago, I was fortunate enough to take a course in Administration under Woodrow Wilson, then a popular Princeton professor. As my notes show, in his very first lecture, Wilson expressed the truth of Mill's position in a single terse paradoxical proposition—"No man who knows one thing, knows anything." Even the specialist, he emphasized, must have familiarity with more than his own set of phenomena.

Today professors and researchers have much to say of "objectivity," "disinterestedness," and the like. But there is need that the social student take heed lest he be like the pseudo scientist who kills in order to dissect. As Professor Albert B. Wolfe declares in a very penetrating essay,

It is unfortunate that economists and other social scientists of late decades, under the hypnotic influence of the "objectivity," "disinterested-observer" ideal of the natural sciences, have willfully refused to have anything to do with values in the philosophical or ethical sense, although these values, in the form of sentiments, interests, and will, are inherent in the phenomena which these "objective" social scientists think they are "scientifically" analyzing. The dyed-in-the-wool "price economist" purports to be concerned only with the market prices or values, regardless of the relation of the thing valued to "welfare" or any other ethical end. It is indifferent to him what people want so long as it is scarce and commands a price. This attitude makes economics—if it is stopped here—a piece of empty formalising.

And so it is with sociology, or with politics—indeed, with any branch of social science. This means that aridly descriptive sociology, quantitatively measurable politics, cannot be considered truly scientific. With John Maurice Clark we must get back to the proposition that "the core of scientific method lies, not in induction nor in deduction, but in taking into account all the relevant facts and excluding none." Whoso is addicted to columns of figures and cares but for number or for quantity

is shredded man. Whoso thinks only of gain and is motivated solely by profits is shredded man. Whoso by long searching knoweth to do right for his fellow man but doeth it not is shredded man, as well as sinner. In his early but remarkable essay on "The Reality of Non-Commercial Incentives in Economic Life," Paul H. Douglas trenchantly pointed out:

The false conception of the exclusively economic man has blinded us to these other characteristics of mankind and has helped to make our age one where emphasis is laid upon acquisition. But if we know that there are other sources of energy in men, we can then more confidently apply ourselves to the creation of devices and attitudes which will call them forth.

And so it is with political man, jurisprudential man—even religious man. Ours is not the age for the "single-track mind"; our day demands absence of aberration and obsession and the presence of a wholeness and pervasive sanity of multilateral life, with an elevated vantage ground, affording true perspective. We see but distortedly through one eye where keenest binocular vision is demanded; our living is one-dimensional, or at most two-dimensional, when the actual scene has a third dimension—and even a fourth, if there is a fourth. We fret and fume about trifles like the dolors of the financial market and are complacent in a world in flames, a civilization that is tottering. Bishop William T. Manning, whose four-score years had marvelously enriched his store of wisdom, was not alone in declaring, "We are at one of the great turning points of history." The present world revolution may be depicted allegorically, but assuredly the revolution itself is no mere allegory.

In one panel of the murals of Baker Library, at Dartmouth College, are seen figures in academic garb. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam warns:

Behind them, in flaming red, the fires of a world in crisis. Dead theses, delivered by a dead obstetrician, from a dead mother when the world is aflame! Orozco (the Mexican artist) is not ridiculing research. He is pleading for the creative use of knowledge.

Must we agree that economics was indeed a dismal science and that professional creatures called economists drew their hesitant conclusions "only after the weary study of tons of statistics, of dry government reports, of forbidding treatises of the mechanics of trade"?

But so it has been with many disciples, not in economics alone, but in the entire realm of the social sciences. The "pure science ideal," the dogma of "truth for truth's sake," is even yet extolled here and there as a heavenly virtue. Such a gospel is neither social nor scientific.

"All history," wrote Carlyle, "is an imprisoned Epic, nay, an imprisoned Psalm and Prophecy." There is more of essential truth in the Homeric poem and the Shakespearean drama than in the meticulous but jejune annals of the early chroniclers. So also the life of society is a swelling current of thrilling episodes revealed not at all by the serried ranks of dull records of artless delvers into the letter of the law who are indifferent to the spirit that maketh alive. As history must rest upon the firm basis of important, ascertained facts and phenomena, so social science must have as its *raison d'être* the life-giving principle of an advancing human weal and never be content with the accumulation of merely factual data, however authentic and valuable as a framework of reference or as inductive material. As Professor Hayes years ago has so well said, "One's life is not his own, but is his share in the inheritance which comes down from a long social past, in turn to be transmitted, improved or degraded, to his successors."

But the social scientist must heed the admonition of Henry C. Adams, uttered still earlier as a fundamental maxim: "The patrimony of the race must not be impaired." There is no loftier altruism than that which projects itself into the future—a truth so flagrantly violated by time-serving opportunists.

How disheartening it has been at times to witness the petty jurisdictional disputes between groups of workers who should be colleagues and cooperators—for do they not profess the same idealism, strive for the same exalted ends? Like trade unionists of an earlier decade, they magnify where they should minimize, they tear down where they should add strength unto strength. One will say, "Because you are a philosopher I have no need of you in economics"; another, "Because you are a moralist I have no need of you in politics"; and yet another, "Because you are an idealist I have no need of you in social theory." Each such narrow specialist hangs out the forbidding sign "No Trespassing" above an increasingly thin slice of territory, alert and jealous against any and every encroachment, little realizing that far beneath the terrain of each strip lies the vast, deep pool of oil or vein of gold that should be for the enrichment of them all.

All this is a plea for the integral, well-founded man in every realm—including economics and sociology. Balance must be our perennial quest, even in a sadly unbalanced world. But balance does not mean a static condition—far from it! It is rather a moving equilibrium: our tomorrow's assignment calls for orderly, guided change, and this demands

alertness, knowledge, resilience—a task far beyond the capabilities of mere shredded men. The leader in economics, or in government, must be a man not only of specialized information but of wisdom, which is seasoned knowledge, balanced accomplishments, which calls for rhythm and symmetry, and integrity, which demands a firm center with a wide circumference.

Even virtues become vices when they are unbalanced, when perspective is lost. Overenthusiasm easily degenerates into fanaticism, zeal becomes hysteria. Too much of a good thing is bad!

Shredded men! Mere shreds of men, and not *men* at all, we behold at every point of the compass, strung across the human horizon, obscuring the vision, and obstructing progress. Of such a creature, in any walk or calling, let us in charity say, "God made him, and therefore let him pass for a man."

Know ye not that ye are all members one of another? Truly, there must be division of labor; indeed, progress demands specialization. Granted. But atomism is irreconcilable with universalism; where splendid forces that should be parallel and cooperative clash and destroy each other, there we find the genesis of a desiccated society. Such a society is robbed of its moisture; it is torn into shreds; there is no leaven to leaven it; it is dried up.

Some time ago I received a circular announcing the third edition of a book on rural sociology, in which it was said that "Every aspect of rural life and society is systematically examined in the light of a great body of factual material . . . economic, political, social, historical, geographical, psychological, physical, religious, biological, cultural, racial." Now if all these fields appertain to the sociology of rural life, "where nothing ever happens," how can one aver that economics must have nothing to do with philosophy, that politics has no concern with ethics, that social theory and idealism have nothing in common? What God has put together, let not man put asunder!

Excessive use of overtechnical terminology, or a kind of sublimated jargon, is another easily besetting sin of not a few social scientists who might more profitably give heed to weightier matters of the law. This savors of dilettantism, which is but "the intellectual equivalent of sport." Talking or writing exclusively in and for the guild is like the familiar practice of pidgin-English among neighborhood children. If the respective and respectable social sciences are closely interrelated, as I have alleged, then the speech and terminology should at least be intelligible

to anyone informed in any of them. In this regard, let us have more of the open shop, or—to use a noble phrase that now awakens melancholy thoughts—“open covenants, openly arrived at.” How can we break down the hated caste system if we ourselves are addicts?

But there is crying need for still further advance. Your social scientist must have honesty as well as honor, morality as well as good form, justice as well as altruism, fidelity as well as assiduity. He must first be a full-orbed man, then a scientist; his integrity of character must outshine the luster of his reputation. The president of the American Council on Education (George F. Zook) with truth declared, “Much of the world’s progress has been made by those who feel as well as by those who know.”

Today whole nations are in shreds; we all live in what seems to be becoming a desiccated world. A prominent Member of Parliament a few years ago declared before an intelligent American audience that he was sure that no one of his hearers—not even the best informed—could understand the gravity of the tension then existing in England and in continental European nations. Today nations are in imminent danger of pulverization. Shredded men cannot save the world from utter chaos.

As if we could unmake the history of all our progress in transportation, communication, world relations, and civilization itself! For puny men today to try to stem the tide of internationalism and world economy is like the farcical attempt of King Canute to sweep back the waves of the Atlantic—and as futile! Political antagonism, economic isolation, racial intolerance, religious bigotry, and barbaric war—these are gigantic antisocial forces that stalk abroad with devastating effect. They must be overthrown! But only integral men, manly men, are equal to the herculean task.

Our economic life and our political life are but aspects of our total living together in society: they are not lives or things apart, but are integrated into the totality of our being. It follows that between them harmony must prevail if peradventure we are ever to insure the optimum of existence for the people.

If you agree with Lester F. Ward that there is really no such thing as “science for its own sake” or “knowledge for its own sake,” but that “there is always an ulterior purpose,” then you must add ethics to your sociology, and economics and political science to your ethics, philosophy to your economics and politics, and leaven all with a faith that is born of religion. In the classic phrase of Matthew Arnold, philosophy is “an

attempt to see life clear and to see it whole." As one of my former students writes, "The philosopher is beholden for such detailed knowledge and insight to the historian, and the natural and the social scientist, the artist and the man of letters; but the history of philosophy, logic, metaphysics, ethics, and aesthetics are needed to fill out the gaps and to bring to expression the interrelations and the wider bearings of the more specific or specialized of human enterprises."

If many of our scholars and teachers are only shredded men, what shall save society itself from desiccation?

I make bold to advance yet a step further. Tossed about in our frail bark on an illimitable sea disturbed by boisterous and angry waves on every hand, in our search for a steadfast star of hope to guide us, we must turn to undefiled religion; for "Religion it is," wrote Plutarch of old, "that containeth and holdeth together all human society; this is the foundation, prop, and stay of all." In reviewing Henry Link's book *The Return to Religion*, John Haynes Holmes earnestly said:

The author states emphatically that in psychology, education, social reform, ethics and religion, we have been chasing will-o'-the-wisps in this last generation, and therewith have been tempted from the highroad of safe progress into the marshlands of illusion and disaster. He would call us back and thus save us in time.

I crave the privilege of reaching out to the favored youth of our disturbed age with a word that perchance may tend to magnify the dignity and integrity of human life. Some one may be led to say—

I slept, and dreamed that life is beauty.

I awoke, and saw that it is duty.

"Not a poem or a statue or a painting," wrote good Bishop J. L. Spaulding, "not a philosophy or a science or a political constitution, is the highest achievement of man; the noblest work of man is a noble man." "There is no wealth but life," said Ruskin. Material wealth, social status, native ability, and acquired skills are but means for the enrichment of human experience.

Wanted: whole men, men of heroic stature, of correct perspective and firm conviction!

Wanted: a human society composed of men of integrity who have learned the fine art of living together, where rhythm and harmony abound and life is beautiful!

AN EMPIRICAL METHOD OF PREDICTING SUCCESS OR FAILURE ON PAROLE

DAVID S. MILNE
San Diego State College

Interest in predicting personal adjustment in the correctional field has been stimulated recently by the appearance of two books concerned in whole or in part with this problem.¹ This has encouraged the writer to present the results of a study conducted at the Fred C. Nelles School for Boys, at Whittier, California, in the early days of World War II. Hopes of continuing this research have not worked out, so it has seemed expedient to report the experiment as far as it went until the writer was transferred away from the School in 1943.

This study was an effort to develop a new method of predicting success or failure of boys paroled from the Nelles School. It was based on the estimates of the staff members of the institution as to the probable outcome for each boy during his first year on parole. Between 60 and 70 staff members participated as judges in rating the boys they had worked with in their special groups within the institution. The staff members rated the boys on a five-point scale expressing their estimate as to his behavior in the first year of parole as follows: (1) Excellent, (2) Above Average, (3) Average, (4) Below Average, and (5) Failure. "Failure" was defined as the commission of any new offense which required a return to the institution or commitment to another correctional institution during the first year from the date of his parole. The other categories were not defined, so that each judge made his own interpretation of how each boy would do in comparison with the total group of boys paroled from the institution. An individual score for each boy was computed by taking the arithmetic mean of the estimates of the various staff members who rated him. Thus a boy who had one estimate of "Excellent" (1 point), two of "Above Average" (2 points each), and two of "Average" (3 points each) would have a total of eleven points on five estimates, and his mean score would be 2.2. The mean scores of the boys were arranged into an experience and expectancy table from which a prediction could be made for each boy. This method of prediction was called the "empirical method," since it was based on the experience of the staff members with the boys while they were in the institution.

¹ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: The Commonwealth Club, 1950), and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Selection for Parole* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1951).

On the first group of 100 boys paroled from the institution in the period from July 1 to December 31, 1942, the empirical method appeared to be correct in its predictions in 67 per cent of the cases. The cases were divided into two groups, and all boys with a mean score of 3.6 or more were predicted to succeed, and those with a mean score of less than 3.6 were predicted to fail. In a second group of cases (140 boys paroled from July to December 1943) the empirical method was successful in predicting the correct outcome for only 60 per cent of the boys in that group. This was not very encouraging, since the average failure rate for the entire group was about 65 per cent, and if one had predicted success for every boy the number of errors would not have been greater. A possible explanation for the decrease in accuracy in the second group of cases is that a large proportion of the staff at the institution were relatively unskilled in the work during this period. This was the middle of World War II, and many of the regular staff had left for the armed services or for war work, and the school administrators were employing almost anyone they could get to take the jobs.

Despite the somewhat disappointing showing, two rather interesting points emerged on analysis of the returns for the first group of boys. One was that the more estimates there were on each boy, the more accurate was the mean of these estimates in predicting the correct outcome during the first year on parole. In the first group of 100 boys, of the 35 boys on whom there were at least six estimates from different staff members, the mean estimate was correct in 31 cases, or 86 per cent. Similar results were also noted in the second group. Another observation was that there was little difference in the predictive accuracy of the several departments in the institution. In each department there were one or two persons with quite high accuracy (considering only persons who had made estimates on ten or more boys) but when the departments were compared as a group, the teachers, the group supervisors, the tradesmen, the counselors (including chaplains), and the parole officers all wound up with about the same degree of predictive accuracy.

The empirical method was compared with an actuarial method of the Burgess type on both groups of cases. This method had been adapted to the institution at Whittier in an earlier study by the writer.² It was based on 20 items taken from the social history of the boy, including his conduct record in the institution. This actuarial method was correct in

² David S. Milne, "Factors Conditioning Success or Failure of 839 Boys Paroled from the Whittier State School." Unpublished master's thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1939.

68 per cent of the first 100 cases. In this instance the dividing line was set at 8 or more favorable factors for success. Those boys having 8 or more favorable categories were predicted to succeed, while those with less than 8 favorable categories were predicted to fail. In the second group of cases the actuarial method was correct in predicting the outcomes of 70 per cent of the 140 boys in the second group. This indicates that this method is not affected by problems of staff turnover and that possibly it becomes more accurate as the number of cases increases.

One of the most interesting aspects of the experiment at Whittier was the discovery of the way the two methods seemed to supplement each other when used together on the same cases. It was noted that the boys who had a very high score on either of the two predictive tables rarely failed, while those with very low scores rarely succeeded. For example, in the actuarial table, of the 16 cases in the first group of 100 cases which had 13 or more favorable categories (out of 20 possible), only one boy failed in the first year on parole. And of the 10 cases scoring 5 points or less, only 2 succeeded. Expressing these figures in terms of predictions, out of a total of 26 predictions (16 for success and 10 for failure) only 3 were wrong, which is an accuracy of 88.5 per cent. This is indeed excellent, but unfortunately it represents only about one fourth of the total of 100 cases.

The same thing is noted for the empirical table. Of 12 cases at the top of the distribution (i.e., those with a mean score of 2.09 or less) only 2 failed. And for the 18 cases at the bottom (mean scores of 4.1 or over) only 5 succeeded. This makes 23 correct predictions out of 30 cases, or 77 per cent. The accuracy is somewhat less than for the actuarial method, but the empirical method covers a few more cases. This same characteristic, of course, is noted in predictive tables of any type, e.g., the Gluecks (*op. cit.*) where cases at the top of the scale rarely became delinquent, and those at the bottom frequently did. In other words, predictive accuracy is quite high for cases at either the top or the bottom of the distributions and less accurate for the in-between cases.

This observation led to a consideration of the problem of how more cases might be brought into the extremes of the distributions, where accuracy of prediction is highest. And immediately the question arose as to whether there was much duplication between the two methods. In other words, did both tables tend to pick out the same individuals as being most apt to fail or to succeed? The answer for this group of cases is that they did not, and therein lies perhaps the most important finding of the study. Out of 30 cases noted in the extremes (top and bottom)

of the empirical distribution, only 8 were also found in the 26 cases at the extremes of the empirical distribution in the first group of 100 cases. Hence, the 56 cases found in the extremes of both distributions represented 48 separate individuals. This means, in effect, that there are now almost twice as many cases on whom there are predictions of comparatively high accuracy. There are now 48 boys on whom predictions can be made with a probable accuracy of 77 per cent or higher. And this represents nearly half of the total of 100 cases. Essentially the same thing was discovered with the second group of cases, although the predictive accuracy was not so high. Of 24 cases in the extremes of the actuarial distribution, 4 were predicted incorrectly, which makes 83.4 per cent correct. And of 30 predictions in the extremes of the empirical distribution, 7 were wrong for an average of 76.7 per cent. The same lack of duplication between the two tables was found, with these 54 cases representing 42 different individuals. However, this is only one third rather than nearly one half of the total of 140 cases in the second group.

One further operation was performed on the first group of 100 cases that might be of interest. This was to develop a table which combined the scores made by a boy on the actuarial method with the score he made on the empirical table. This was done by using an arbitrary system of weights ranging from $+4$ to -4 . A boy in the upper extremes of a distribution would receive a weight of $+4$ and one in the lower extremes would receive a -4 . Those just above the breaking point would receive a weight of $+1$, and those below would get a weight of -1 . In this manner, a combined score for each boy was worked out which consisted of the algebraic sum of these weights. Thus a high score on one table would be canceled out to some extent by a low score on the other table, while scores on the same side of zero would be cumulative. This procedure helped to solve the dilemma of what to do when one method predicted success and the other predicted failure for a boy. If his combined score yielded a plus figure, he was predicted to succeed, and if a minus figure resulted, he was predicted to fail. A score of zero was considered to predict for success, since there were more successes than failures in the total group (65 out of the 100 cases succeeded).

It was found that the prediction table constructed from the combined scores of these 100 boys was more accurate than either of the basic tables, since it made correct predictions on 73 of the 100 boys, for a score of 73 per cent. Also, the extremes of the combined table were very accurate. Of the 19 cases having a net score of $+4$ or more, only one failed, and

of the 10 cases with a net score of — 4, only one succeeded. In other words, at the extremes of this table, out of 29 predictions, 27 were correct, for an over-all average of 93 per cent.

Of course, most of the cases found in the extremes of the combined distribution were also in the extremes of one or both of the two basic tables. But two new cases were turned up. These were boys scoring fairly high on both basic tables but not high enough to get into what were called the extremes. The weighting process served to throw them into the extremes of the combined distribution, since the scores were cumulative in the same direction. With these two new cases there are now 50 separate individuals (half of the total group) who are found in the extremes of one or more of the three predictive tables (actuarial, empirical, and combined) in areas of predictive accuracy from 77 per cent (for the empirical) to 93 per cent (for the combined table). In other words, for about half of the total number of boys rather highly accurate predictions could be made as to probable success or failure during the first year on parole.

It is recognized that we cannot have complete accuracy for any predictive system. The Gluecks, for instance, found that all three of their predictive tables were wrong on 10 of their 424 boys. But if a system could be developed by which an accuracy of over 80 per cent could be achieved for all of a group of cases, the cause of scientific prediction of personal adjustment would be greatly advanced.

It is suggested that one way to achieve this goal might be to use a number of independent predictive systems on the same group of cases and to combine the scores made on each basic method into some sort of combined table to use as a supplement. The main idea is to get as many separate individuals as possible into the extremes of one or more of the battery of predictive systems where accuracy is the highest. In the study described above, about 50 cases were identified in the extremes of two basic methods plus a supplementary combined method. Each basic method accounted for about 20 to 25 different individuals. If a third method had been used and had been able to identify another 20 or 25 cases in its extremes, the total number of cases on whom predictions of high accuracy could be made would perhaps amount to 75 or 80 cases. And use of a fourth method might yield the rest of the cases not previously identified in the extremes of any of the other three tables, or brought into the extremes of a table made up of combined scores.

Of course it may be difficult, if not impossible, to find four relatively independent predictive systems. And it is essential that the systems be

relatively independent or there will be too much duplication of cases between them and not enough new individuals identified in the extremes of the tables. But there is reason to think that at least three independent methods are already known. The two methods used in the Whittier study, the empirical and the actuarial, seem to be relatively independent of each other. This is seen by the lack of duplication between the two tables in their respective extremes. This could also be anticipated inasmuch as the two methods draw upon different sources for the material on which the prediction is based. In the case of the actuarial method the prediction is based upon social history data, while the empirical method seems to rely upon personality items derived from the personal experience of the staff members with the boy while in the institution.

Another relatively independent method might be either the Rorschach test method or the psychiatric interview method used by the Gluecks. These two methods might not be independent of each other, but they would appear to be independent of a method based on social history data or one based upon personal contact or experience. Another possibility might be a test based on a personality inventory, such as the Minnesota Multiphasic, which could yield a prediction table. Personality inventories are relatively hard to administer, however, and cannot be used for many types of subjects.³

In summary, the following points may be made about the Whittier study described above:

1. A new "empirical" method of prediction is developed which appears to have the following characteristics.

- a. It is fairly accurate, though not so accurate as the actuarial method used on this group of cases.
- b. It is extremely simple and very easy to administer.
- c. It requires a fairly well trained or experienced staff to provide the best estimates.

³ The writer attempted to develop a third predictive method to use on the first group of 100 cases. In this effort the Glueck system as used in their earlier works was followed. Coefficients of contingency were computed on each of the 20 factors for which social history data were available. The five highest items were selected to use as the basis for the new predictive method. The result was a fairly satisfactory prediction table with an over-all accuracy of about 63 per cent. But in the extremes of this table were found essentially the same boys that had already been identified in the extremes of the actuarial method based on the Burgess procedure. Only about five new cases were turned up, and most of these were also identified in the extremes of the empirical distribution. This convinced the writer that the methods must be based upon different material so as to yield a different cross section or point of view on the subjects for whom predictions are to be made.

d. There should be at least five or six estimates on each subject to insure greater accuracy.

e. The empirical method seems to have a good chance of meeting one of the fundamental objections parole administrators have to predictive systems. They say that since parole is now recognized to be the only proper method of release for offenders, the main problem is not whether parole should be granted or not, but when it should be granted. Systems based on social history data are relatively static and inflexible, and will not reflect a change which may occur in an individual's attitudes or behavior in a correctional setting. However, the empirical method could be very responsive to such changes. If all, or most, of the staff members of an institution were convinced of a genuine change of heart, an inmate could have his mean score change from a very adverse to a very favorable rating—and vice versa.

f. The empirical method seems most suitable to institutions, but could also be used in the public schools or in other situations where several people have a chance to observe a particular individual.

2. The use of several independent methods of prediction may lead to the identification of a large proportion of the total cases in the extremes of one or more of the prediction tables, in areas of high predictive accuracy. Three and possibly four different methods should be used in order to get as many cases as possible into the extremes, although there is a likelihood of diminishing returns for each new method applied to the same cases when more than four are used.

3. The construction of an appropriate system of weights which would permit the combination of scores on the basic prediction tables into another prediction table might yield new cases for the extremes of the distributions and be of fairly high accuracy for the entire group also.

4. The findings of this study indicate a need to repeat the experiment on a larger group of cases, using at least three and possibly four different methods of prediction on the same cases. One of these methods should be an actuarial type based on social history data, using either the Burgess or the Glueck procedure. A second should be of the empirical type as described herein. A third and possibly a fourth should be based on psychiatric or psychoanalytic data such as the Rorschach tests or psychiatric interviews used by the Gluecks. The use of a battery of such methods should in any event yield greater knowledge of each individual case and provide parole boards and other authorities with better information upon which to base the decisions which they must make—decisions which are so vital in the lives of the individuals involved and for the society of which they are a part.

THE ETA: JAPAN'S INDIGENOUS MINORITY

HUGH H. SMYTHE AND CHYUSHIOCHI TSUZUKI
Yamaguchi National University

The Eta are a Japanese outcast group that has existed within the general population for a long time, with the basis of their separateness founded in the twelfth century. During this period of feudalism in Japan the Eta people, aside from performing such public duties as city and town police, served as public executioners, handled the dead, both human and animal, monopolized work in hides and skins, and were responsible for the disposal of human offal and general waste matter. However, it was not until the advent of the Tokugawa era at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Japan began its long period of isolation, that the position of the Eta deteriorated and became firmly fixed, so that they became an oppressed encysted segment of the population, looked upon as a special and despised group. The strict class stratification stemming from feudalism affected them greatly, and about 1713 they began to be really shunned as a degraded minority. They were then placed at the bottom of a five-class hierarchy: *shi* (samurai), *no* (farmer), *ko* (artisan), *sho* (trader), and *shi-heimin* (Eta). Ostracized because of association with occupations considered as unclean by other Japanese, the Eta eventually congregated in special *burakus* (communities). This segregation resulted in an almost complete severance of their relations with people in the general society, and their *burakus* became the poorest and most neglected in the land.¹

Recent research² on the Eta in Japan indicates that there has been almost no improvement in their situation from the time that public opinion hardened against them 250 years ago. Socially they are abhorred, intermarriage with them is taboo, and the modern labor market is yet largely closed to them. Generally located in rural areas and on the poorest land, the Eta rely mainly upon agricultural pursuits as very small farmers, mostly as tenants, for a livelihood, but their reduced economic condition forces them to engage on the side in small handicraft

¹ Some of the most reliable historical research on the Eta has been done by Teikichi Kida, and the material here is based on two of his articles in *Minzoku to Rekishi* (Race and History): "A Short History of the Establishment of the Special Community," 2:9-77, 1919; and "Confirmation on the Origin of the Eta," 2:80-115, 1919.

² The authors' findings have been supplemented here with data from a report by Kiyohiko Minami, "Unemancipated Burakus and Japan's Social and Economic Structure," made at the annual meeting of the Institute for the Study of Japan's Social Problems and Policy, June 7, 1952, Hosei University, Tokyo, Japan.

occupations. Although in the past they once enjoyed a monopoly of the leather industry, at the beginning of the Meiji, or modern period in Japan, the leather industry became organized on a large scale, especially in connection with the establishment of large-scale arms production and other materials of war, and the Eta were displaced from their favored position. Currently, many Eta earn their living as shoemakers and small traders in leather goods, as butchers, *geta* and *zori* (Japanese shoes) venders, peddlers, rikisha pullers, longshoremen, and keepers of small street stalls. They are practically shut out of public employment, although under the "Occupation" a few such opportunities were made available to them.

The Eta are to be found almost everywhere in Japan, even in such isolated spots as the Oki Islands in the Japan Sea. They are fewest in number in the northernmost main island of Hokkaido and concentrated largely on the other main islands of Honshu, Kyushu, and Shikoku. There is a scattering of their *burakus* in the eastern Honshu prefectures (states) of Saitama, Gunma, and Tochigi; a small number are to be found in the Tohoku district north of Tokyo. They cluster heavily, however, in the region of central Japan on Honshu in Hyogo, Wakayama, Nara, and Shiga, and in Kochi and Ehime prefectures on Shikoku, averaging from 4 to 6 per cent of the total prefectural populations.³

There are no accurate statistics available on the Eta population, since the Japanese government does not keep special population figures on minorities. In 1935 the Central Conciliation Society, a group interested in integrating the Eta into Japanese life, estimated there were 5,300 special *burakus* in Japan containing 19,554 houses with about 1 million inhabitants. However, this estimate included some non-Etas who because of extreme poverty had been forced to take up residence in special Eta communities, while, on the other hand, it did not include Eta living outside these special settlements. The Eta have always been a prolific people, even more so than other Japanese, and today a reasonable estimate places their numbers at around 3 million.⁴

³ This population distribution was reported by Sanya Kikuchi in his *A Study of the Eta Class*, Tokyo, 1923. Minami's report made in June 1952 confirms these earlier findings, since there have in general been only very slight shifts of population in Japan within recent years.

⁴ The natural increase of the Eta between 1870 and 1935 was 97 per 1,000, while that for the general population was 15 per 1,000. The estimate given here is based on figures in *Kindai Hyakunenshi: 1850-1950* (One Hundred Years of Modern [Japanese] History), edited by Shiso Hattori *et al.* (Tokyo: Kokusai-bunka Johosha, 1952), Vol. X, p. 804. An early study on the Eta population was made by Teikichi Kida, "Growth of Population of the Special Community," *op. cit.*, pp. 144-58.

Increasing emphasis is now being placed on the study of the Eta in Japan for several reasons. Occupation reforms did much to remove legal restrictions against them, a policy which had been attempted earlier in the Meiji era in 1872 but which was never effective. Social tension, as a result of war, defeat, and occupation, has increased tremendously in Japanese society, and naturally depressed groups of all kinds have become restive and anxious to move out of their restricted position in the social order. Further, several organizations, concerned over the plight of the Eta in a nation striving for democracy, are giving attention to the problem of the inequality of treatment they receive. Then, too, understanding the nature and effect of prejudice against the Eta, the *Sekizen Kyokai* (Good Deeds Society), the Central Conciliation Society, and the Buraku Emancipation Society are all taking a practical interest in Eta affairs, trying to improve their condition and reduce anti-Eta attitudes on the part of the general public. Also, in the realization that their low status affects the over-all society and economy, the problem is being seriously studied by the Buraku Mondai Kenkyu (Buraku Problems Study Institute) in Kyoto and by the Institute for the Study of Japan's Social Problems and Policy. In addition, in connection with its worldwide study of social tensions, UNESCO has engaged the services of a group of Japanese scholars who are including the problem of the Eta in their over-all research. It should be noted, too, that several individuals are making independent studies of selected aspects of the Eta people.⁵

In the past the scope of research on the Eta was confined largely to a historical examination. However, more recent sociological and anthropological studies already have shed new light on earlier assumptions and provided a broader basis for investigation that should eventually result in valuable and significant contributions aiming toward better understanding of the problem. Such research to date has revealed that the Eta are not simply a historical social remnant hanging over from feudal Japan, but in their larger aspects they are seen to represent a problem growing out of Japan's unique indigenous social, economic, and cultural structure as it has been influenced and shaped partly through contact with Western institutions and thought and partly by factors peculiar to Japan's past. Future research is thus being projected and approached from this over-all point of view with the idea of analyzing the problem of the Eta as a part of the general study of minority groups in other parts of the world.

⁵ Among these are Professor Jiro Suzuki of Tokyo Metropolitan University, Mr. Keizo Fujita of Osaka Commercial University, and Mr. Etsuji Sumiya of Doshisha University in Kyoto, each of whom is studying the Eta problem in his respective area. Also, Wakayama University has assigned five scholars to work with the national government's Eta Problem Committee of the Construction Board.

TELEVISION AND THE POLITICAL CONVENTIONS

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

University of Southern California

Something happened in Chicago last July that has never happened anywhere before to the same degree. The members of two political conventions became television conscious in a full-fledged way, not only during the respective conventions, but afterwards, when they returned to their homes and heard what the onlookers in these homes thought of the spectacles. Television moved forward appreciably at Chicago as a means of mass appraisal of the behavior of the representatives of the mass. Several observations have been repeated so often by members of both political parties during and after the conventions that they may be noted here for further consideration.

1. Television greatly increased the interest of the people of the United States in conventions as a political device. The people "saw" how a party platform is presented and adopted, how political "machines" work on the convention floor, how speakers behave when they are making nominating or other addresses, how the delegates engage in orgies of noise and "whoopla" as a means of supposedly winning support for the respective candidates, how the delegates on the floor of the convention hall try to hold a caucus, how the voting excitement develops, how demands for repolling a delegation are made, how a last-minute swing of a whole delegation vote may take place, how the successful nominee behaves when, at an early morning hour, he appears and makes his acceptance speech. Some of these procedures may now be examined more closely.

The television interest of the American public, however, varied greatly from hour to hour. Although it has been estimated that "nearly 51 million Americans watched the Taft-Eisenhower contest at one time or another," it is reported that MacArthur's keynote address had "only 21 million in the home audience."¹ There are many factors which account for the fluctuations in the size of the television audience.

Although platform speakers announced television audiences of 70 million and one went so far as to give out a 90 million figure, and another announcement told that 140 million eyes were watching how the

¹ *Newsweek*, 40:50, August 4, 1952.

delegates perform, yet the maximum estimate given in *Newsweek* of 51 million or in *Life* of 50 million seems more nearly correct.²

The television operators were sensitive to the increased interest shown by the public in the televised conventions. They profited by the lessons they learned in the Republican Convention, for in the Democratic Convention the television spokesmen were "less talkative and more informative, thanks to bird-dogging floor reporters with walkie-talkies who frequently were able to funnel the news out before the delegates themselves were informed."³ The Democrats reacted against the profile views given of the Republican speakers and insisted upon having the cameras so placed that front views and hence more direct views of the speakers were presented to their television audience.

2. The seating of certain delegations was covered up because the political managers refused to allow the arguments as presented by contesting delegations to be televised. The managers may or may not have had sound reasons for their decision, but the public in the main reacted against being denied the opportunity of "seeing" these conflicts. The public felt, perhaps correctly, perhaps not, that something crooked was intended. If not, why not let the contests be televised? In these early days of television history the public has not developed generally accepted standards as to what political meetings and gatherings shall be televised and what shall not be televised—it wants to see everything.

3. In both conventions this year the television public "saw" political "managers" at work on the floor of the hall. They could infer a number of things about political "machines." They could "see" "politicos" engaged in building up one candidate's chances of being nominated and other "politicos" who were at the same time tearing down the same candidate's chances. Some television observers labeled it all as "the democratic process at work," and other observers expressed plain disgust and indicated that the so-called democratic process "had been made to look silly." One cannot say definitely that the unfavorable reactions to "machines" outnumbered and outweighed the favorable comments, but doubtless the "bosses" in the future will be more forehanded and subtle.

4. Perhaps the greatest interest of all was shown by the television audience in the speakers as they performed before the cameras. Television has made more people than ever before familiar with the faces, mannerisms, and manners of the political leaders in the United States.

² *Life*, 33:20, August 11, 1952.

³ *Time*, 60:46, August 4, 1952.

When this senator or that candidate was announced over the radio, there seems to have been a sudden turning throughout the nation to the millions of television sets. Attention to other matters was dropped in the desire to see important personages perform as revealed on the television screen.

The television operators did their best to "prepare" speakers to look well before the bright lights. Even the "pancake" make-up or, better still, the streaks caused by perspiration attested to the desire of the television operators to help the speakers look their best. Improvements in make-up as well as in performance may result from initial experiences with convention television. The distracting behavior of bystanders and bysitters will be eliminated.

In order to make the situation easier for the speakers a relatively new device was used at the Republican Convention but declined by most of the Democrats at their convention. The "teleprompter," an apparatus that "rolled speeches in front of a speaker in large, easily read letters, and did away with manuscripts," was devised to give the audience the impression that the speaker was ad-libbing. It fooled no one, for the television cameras were turned on the teleprompter from time to time. When working well, it was of decided assistance to both speaker and audience. It put the speech more in a straight line between the speaker and audience so that the speaker did not have to go through the tiresome routine of looking down at his manuscript and up at the audience every few words, ad infinitum. But the apparatus did not work smoothly, as when former President Hoover was speaking. He had to pause and tell the unseen operator two or three times to "go ahead." The timing and other problems will be corrected.

5. Television will doubtless bring about great changes in the parades that follow the nominating speeches. In anticipation of adverse public reaction, the speeches were shortened, but the parades also need to be shortened, changed, or eliminated. When they degenerate into orgies of sound and silly behavior, the television viewers as a class are disgusted with the behavior of their fellow Americans. They clearly represented one of the lowest types of procedure for securing votes for worthy candidates.

Television has put the practice of bringing in paid paraders to rout. *Newsweek* is authority that, whereas the Republicans "allowed each candidate 150 hired hands,"⁴ the Democrats profited by the adverse

⁴ *Newsweek*, loc. cit.

reactions to the Republicans' procedure as seen on television and ruled "against any paid demonstrators in the spontaneous parades." It appears that television has put paid paraders out of business in supposedly spontaneous demonstrations.

Another indication of the passing of "demonstrations" was illustrated in the Democratic Convention when the banners and followers of several of the candidates appeared in the aisles, no matter who had just been nominated. Evidently many delegates were taking the parades as a kind of joke. They joined in for "the fun of it" and perhaps to get themselves televised again and again for the enjoyment of "the folks back home" and for a supposed increase in their own status.

6. Television portrayed vividly the difficulties, as announced by several delegation chairmen, of holding a caucus of respective delegations on the floor of the hall. The noise and disorder made almost impossible the holding of a caucus of a large delegation within the Convention Hall. On the other hand, a large delegation did not dare file out and absent itself for the necessary length of time to discuss an important issue, and then return, for fear that during its absence an important action would be taken. Sometimes near the close of each convention events were happening so rapidly that there was scarcely time for a chairman to poll even a moderately sized delegation amid all the excitement. Thus, the democratic process was put to great disadvantage. This difficulty is a real one that may mean that the convention system will in time be supplanted by nation-wide nomination primaries.

7. Television brought on the needless repolling of many delegations. It will also be the nemesis of needless and slow and provoking repolling of delegations. By challenging the accuracy of a poll and securing recognition of the chair, a delegate could have the names of all the members of his delegation called and each would then recast his vote. The nature of the scheme was revealed by the fact that often the repoll was the same as the poll whose accuracy was challenged. It was revealed by the additional fact that many times the member who challenged the accuracy of the poll as announced by his chairman stated that the challenge was no reflection on the chairman. A side issue was indicated when, despite the repeated request of the convention chairman that members simply name the candidate, the members put in sentence speeches in behalf of the candidates they favored. Many delegates were attending their first political convention and wanted their given delegation repolled so that they could be seen by the home folks.

8. Many television observers reacted against the evangelistic methods used by some of the speakers in both conventions. Emotional methods showed up on the screen to the disadvantage of those who indulged in them. Perhaps such procedures did not seem fitting at a convention engaged in choosing the ablest nominee possible for the presidency of the United States.⁵

9. Closely related to the preceding point were the unfavorable reactions of television viewers to repetition after repetition of denunciations of the opposing political party. Many speakers at both conventions engaged in denunciations that the public had already heard over and over again and that in some cases were beginning to backfire.

The weaknesses of extreme partisanship, familiar over the radio, showed up to great disadvantage over television. It appeared at each convention as though one party had nothing but fault to its credit and that the other party could do no wrong. In other words, people began to recognize that at certain times they were witnessing what has been called "The Battle of the Myths,"⁶ namely, the idea that one party is 100 per cent pure and that the other is 100 per cent bad. It is beside the point to ask which party behaved the most unseemly in the Battle of the Myths, for each was involved. The belittling nature of these tactics may not have been as patent to the holder of a seat in either convention or to radio listeners as it was to the television viewer "looking on" thoughtfully from his home a thousand miles distant from the excitement.

10. The realism of television viewing was evident from the reports of large numbers of television viewers who "talked back" to a given convention speaker or who clapped their hands and cheered on a given speaker. Probably no one picked up a lamp and threw it at a gesticulating television speaker, but many seemed to have felt like doing so. No one embraced his television set, but many seem to have developed a new attachment for some of the convention performers as a result of both seeing and hearing them in action.

11. The climax of the conventions came with the appearance of the successful nominees to make their acceptance speeches. Each of the two major party nominees was truly on exhibit before the nation by virtue of television. Each was handicapped by having to make this momentous appearance at the close of a long, hot week of conferences and finally

⁵ *The Christian Century*, 69:394, August 6, 1952.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 895.

after a day and the better part of a night of pulsating excitement. Television as a means of mass communication and evaluation played an important role when it presented the successful nominees to all listeners, supporters and opponents alike. It is reported that even the gamblers shifted their betting odds as a result of this grand climax of a week of television.

12. There is little evidence to indicate that television aroused any great interest in party platforms. The reading of a long statement grows monotonous over both television and radio. People turn away from their television sets until the chairman of the convention beats the desk with the gavel and action of some sort is about to take place. If some way could be found to dramatize a party platform, to present it section by section as informally as possible by one after another of a panel of distinguished delegates from as many states as possible, then perhaps the public would take the party platforms more seriously than they do with the present method.

While no prediction is made here that television will do away with the convention system, yet it will doubtless bring about fundamental changes in convention procedure. Says a delegate to the Republican Convention, "The convention system has within itself the seeds of its own destruction."⁷ However, the leading alternative, nation-wide primaries, would be very costly for the candidates. A delegate to the Democratic Convention makes these observations: "Too often at the convention it appeared that those in charge were aiming at nomination by emotion. We need to make conventions more deliberative. Steps in that direction could be established through an electric voting system" and "elimination of the organ music which at Chicago interfered with hearing what was going on, even by those in the hall."⁸

No attempt here will be made to compare the television and radio reports of the two Conventions. While both media played vital roles, television came to the fore convincingly, for various Americans and perhaps other peoples too are "far more eye-perceptive than ear-perceptive," and an impression received over a television screen sticks much better than most impressions received over the radio.⁹ While television may smooth out some of the rough edges of politics, its chief asset, as judged by the Convention experiences, is to stimulate a far larger pro-

⁷ McIntyre Faries, as quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1952, Part II, p. 2.

⁸ John Anson Ford, as quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, *ibid.*

⁹ *Life*, 33:20, August 11, 1952.

portion of the public than ever before to follow step-by-step political procedures. Another result, suggested by E. C. McDonagh, is that of putting an unknown candidate quickly before millions of citizens.¹⁰ The personality traits of candidates receive widespread attention, and a candidate with stimulating voice, sparkling eyes, and ready wit will have a real advantage over other candidates with a less favorable television presence. Television viewing of political conventions and meetings by the rank and file of Americans is almost certain to change the course of the life of the nation through the development of more interest in politics. A concluding hypothesis may be suggested, namely, television will appreciably increase the percentage of the registered voters who go to the polls and vote.

¹⁰ In a personal conference.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

University of California, Berkeley. Herbert Blumer has resigned as professor of sociology at the University of Chicago to assume a similar rank at Berkeley.

University of California, Los Angeles. Svend Riemer comes to UCLA as professor of sociology from the University of Wisconsin.

University of California, Santa Barbara College. Charles B. Spaulding joins the staff as an associate professor of sociology after completing almost twenty years of service at Whittier College.

University of Southern California. Georges Sabagh has resigned as assistant professor of sociology at the University of Washington to accept a similar rank at this university.

University of Washington. Calvin F. Schmid served as visiting professor at the University of Southern California during the Summer Session of 1952. Robert O'Brien has resigned to become professor of sociology at Ohio Wesleyan University.

Washington State College. Julius A. Jahn joins the department as associate professor of sociology.

Whittier College. Alfred Sheets, formerly of Willamette University, becomes an assistant professor of sociology.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

RACIAL SEPARATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. *An Analysis of Apartheid Theory.* By Eugene P. Dvorin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952, pp. xii+256.

As a result of his political science point of approach, the author gives many citations from legislative actions in South Africa. He presents the historical bases of the Apartheid theory which the present Nationalist Party Government is pushing vigorously. He shows how the Dutch Reformed Church for decades has held to the belief that the white race is superior and that to allow an inferior race to come into control would be immoral. He makes plain why the Afrikaners, the descendants of the early Dutch settlers, have repudiated liberal ideas and the paternalistic

policy of the United Party and of many British settlers in the Union of South Africa.

The Afrikaners claim that to keep on giving the Natives (the Negroes) increased opportunities to vote and to obtain better conditions of employment will mean that the white minority ($2\frac{3}{4}$ million as compared with over $8\frac{1}{2}$ million Natives, 1 million "Colored," and $\frac{1}{3}$ million Asiatics) will be supplanted by a people many of whom will not be able to get far away from tribalism and superstitious forms of religion. The Afrikaners believe that the only way they can maintain dominance is by complete separation of the races. Therefore, they are withdrawing voting and labor opportunities from the Natives rapidly, and as a result many of the leaders of the latter are seething with nonresistance if not hatred feelings. Moreover, the present government would reduce the Indians and other Asiatics to "an irreducible minimum."

If the Native labor force is compelled to withdraw from the industrial centers, many of the factories and mines (without a cheap labor force) would have to be closed. To meet such a contingency the Nationalist Government under Malan proposes to bring in migratory laborers (Negro) from adjoining countries on a contract basis, from year to year. To help the Natives it is proposed that they be allowed to develop local governments of their own, but with the Union of South Africa holding a kind of veto power. It is also planned to help the Natives industrialize their Reserves and improve their farming methods. The book closes with a summary to the effect that in South Africa the forces of bigotry and fear are engaged in a deadly human struggle with the forces seeking security and freedom. Throughout, the author maintains an objective point of view and writes with clarity in presenting both sides of what amounts to a titanic struggle.

E.S.B.

RACE AWARENESS IN YOUNG CHILDREN. By Mary Ellen Goodman.
Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1952, pp. viii+280.

Herein is an account of a case study of 103 children in three nursery schools regarding "race awareness." The author and two assistants gathered data on this subject through (1) nonparticipant observation, (2) participant observation, (3) interviewing, (4) testing, and (5) the use of school records. Among other things, the investigators found "unmistakable signs of the onset of racial bigotry" among their four-year-old subjects. A highly significant chapter is that on "the personal equation." It gives six different sets of personality factors involved in the lives of

four-year-olds which are combined in many different ways, and which, as such, serve as explanations "of race awareness and race orientation in our children."

An important conclusion is that "the process is perhaps less a matter of transmission than of regeneration." In other words, this is a process more complex than "the sheer learning of someone else's attitudes"; it is a process by which "each individual generates his or her attitudes, out of the personal, social, and cultural materials which happen to be his." More research like that reported in this book will bear rich social-psychological fruit.

E.S.B.

SOUTH OF FREEDOM. By Carl T. Rowan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952, pp. viii+270.

Against a picture of his boyhood days in a small Tennessee town where Negroes experienced all the rigors of segregation, the author describes his experiences eighteen years later when he returns to this town while making a 6,000-mile tour of the South under the auspices of the Minneapolis *Morning Tribune*. His work in Minneapolis as a staff reporter had given him a new background for studying race relations. In this tour he lived again the common problem of the Negro in the South and elsewhere of not knowing just how far he can go in claiming the privileges accorded white people. He found in places a South which had not changed one whit in its anti-Negro attitudes. He found some white leaders who were being ostracized by other white people because they were trying to see that the Negro was treated fairly. He found white people who were bothered greatly by the segregation of Negroes, but who dared not speak out against such segregation for fear of losing status or their jobs, or both. He found Negroes who were defending segregation for political and economic self-gain or, more particularly, because they believed that if segregated businesses and schools were eliminated, they would not be able to compete successfully for positions in institutions now manned by white people. He found many people, both white and colored, who favored the principle of gradualism or used it as an excuse for doing nothing now to improve race relations.

One of the author's main aims was to discover whether there were real and vital changes taking place in the South in the attitudes of white people toward Negroes. He saw a number of evidences of such changes, but upon examination concluded that these in large numbers of cases were relatively superficial, although possibly antecedent to real changes.

The author classifies the attitudes of Negroes toward their situations

in three ways. First, there are Negroes of low economic level who desire not social equality but economic opportunity and security. Second, the middle-class Negro "has begun to taste freedom, and he longs for more of it." He wants economic equality. Third, the "top economic, educational, and cultural brackets" want social equality and "refuse to recognize any racial barrier whether imposed by tradition or statute." In short, they want "dignity."

Behind racial segregation the claim is made that sex and racial intermarriages are the white man's basic fears. But the Negro as he climbs up the ladder of equality continues to prefer his own race. As the Negro obtains security and equality in privileges and as he migrates away from the South, the aforementioned basic fears in the South are likely to be softened. Although progress is being made, there are many places in the United States that are "south of freedom," according to this challenging travel report.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL WELFARE

SUCCESSFUL EMPLOYEE BENEFIT PLANS. By the Editorial Staff of Prentice-Hall, Inc. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952, pp. xiii+561.

Prepared largely for employers, this book "is designed to show how employee-benefit dollars can be spent most effectively." Three general categories have been devised to include the most widely used benefit plans for discussion purposes. They are (1) benefits offering security, including all types of group insurance plans; (2) those that increase employee income, such as the immediate benefit profit-sharing types, employee stock participation plans, and suggestion systems; (3) other benefit programs like food services, industrial recreation, educational services, and the like. The discussions centering around these plans make clear that employee benefits are permanent in nature for this country's industrial system, that they are the foundation for better industrial relationships, that they aid in the preservation of the free enterprise system, that they may, when rightly used, offset the necessity for governmental paternalism, and that they usually have been successful in creating more productivity. The programs for group health, accident, and life insurance plans offer detailed accounts of how these may be installed, how they may be financed, and what some of the general advantages and disadvantages seem to have been. Some of the most successful profit-sharing plans in existence are presented, as well as the suggestion-systems plans in certain selected plants.

One of the most interesting chapters is devoted to the importance of communication between employer and employee. This chapter contains a list of mediums that have been used by various companies. The list includes posters and bulletins, movies, loud-speaker systems, letters, advertisements in the public press, attitude surveys, annual reports, and group meetings. The book should be of great value for employers and students of industrial relations.

M.J.V.

COMMUNITY PLANNING FOR HUMAN SERVICES. By Bradley Buell and Associates. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952, pp. 464.

This significant volume is dedicated to the vision of the early leaders in social work and is a report of a scientific study carried on in St. Paul, Minnesota. It was sponsored jointly by the Greater St. Paul Planning and Research Council and Community Research Associates, Inc., of which Bradley Buell is the Executive Director. In addition to the four major staff members, there were nine project consultants, each an authority in his respective field. Four major problems are presented: dependency, ill health, maladjustment, and recreational needs.

The research was carefully planned, and the findings are definite. Briefly, it was discovered in St. Paul that (1) in one month (November 1948) 41,000 families in the city were served by 108 public and private agencies; (2) approximately 75 per cent of the cost of these services came from local funds, over half from fees or voluntary contributions, and over half of the tax money came from local city-county taxes; (3) of the 41,000 families served, about 7,000 (7 per cent of all St. Paul's families) were dependent; about 11,000 had problems of maladjustment; over 15,000 had problems of ill health, and almost 19,000 were served by public and private recreational agencies; (4) however, some families had several problems, e.g., 77 per cent of dependent families had problems of ill health and maladjustment; 58 per cent of families with problems of maladjustment were known to agencies in other fields; 38 per cent of families with health problems had other difficulties as well.

The book points to the fact of the "vicious circle" of problems, inasmuch as a group of 6,600 families (6 per cent of all families in the city) "were absorbing well over half of the combined services of the community's dependency, health and adjustment agencies."

The report concludes with pertinent observations as to the meaning of the facts for community-wide planning. More teamwork is needed both "in philosophy and practice." The spotlight is turned on the family, and as the family faces problems, each member is affected, and thus the

family becomes a central point for the mobilization of various social welfare services. Specific suggestions are offered in relation to the four major problems. Finally, the necessity for community-wide planning is emphasized as basic strategy to deal with the problems so vividly present in the lives of many persons and families in order not only to integrate efforts for immediate services but to promote steps to prevent and reduce the problems.

Persons interested in community welfare, either as professional social workers or as volunteers, will welcome this scientific analysis and will applaud the definite emphasis upon greater understanding and cooperation among the "specialists" as they undertake to define their common goals in relation to the welfare of their entire community.

B.A.MCC.

THE CHANGING CULTURE OF A FACTORY. By Elliott Jaques. New York: The Dryden Press, Inc., 1952, pp. xxi+341.

Industrial relations in Britain's Glacier Metal Company, founded in 1899, have been subjected to a case study of developments occurring between April 1948 and November 1950. This book reports the findings of the research project and deals with the psychological and social forces at work in the factory at some length. The metalworks plant was selected by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, fund provider of the project, because of the advanced social practices in interpersonal relations prevailing within it. How management and workers became cooperators with the Research Team, headed by author Jaques, in the scientific investigation makes for interesting reading.

Five independent case studies of problems in five separate parts of the factory are presented with detailed accounts of the various discussions held in the efforts to reach solutions for the specific problems handled. Not only do these reports shed considerable light upon the manner in which the interrelationships and intrarelations were conducted, but they also show the ways and means of the establishment of *esprit de corps* within the factory walls. The factory is herein treated as an industrial community, and particular stress has been placed upon the events in analyzing particular social situations. The book, therefore, should be of important significance to those interested in research which takes place in the world of reality—which is what the Tavistock people are doing with their projects. The step-by-step procedure of the project from its initiation to completion may serve as a good guide for further projects of a like nature.

M.J.V.

PRACTICAL COOPERATION IN ASIA AND AFRICA. By W. K. H. Campbell. Foreword by C. F. Strickland. Cambridge, England: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1951, pp. xxii+275.

The author is credited, according to Mr. Strickland, with having had "the longest and most varied experience among those who are active in the field of cooperation" and with being a person who "is not surpassed in knowledge of cooperative principles by any other expert." He was instrumental in putting the cooperative movement in Ceylon on its feet, in having been cooperative adviser to the Nationalist Government of China, in establishing a cooperative movement in Malta, and in having studied firsthand cooperatives up and down Africa.

On the basis of wide experiences, the author discusses all the problems involved in getting cooperatives organized and going in the undeveloped and backward countries of the world. He gives attention to credit unions, supply cooperatives, cooperative stores, marketing societies, and multiple-purpose societies, and submits model rules and by-laws. A cooperative needs capital, efficient management, and members who are not in search of publicity or self-glorification but have "a genuine desire to do something to improve the lot" of their fellow countrymen.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL THEORY

PREDICTING CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR. By John L. Gillin and Associates. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1952, pp. 353.

This microcard publication presents a review of the pioneer probation and parole prediction studies and describes the correctional and penal institutions and agencies of Wisconsin. The main part of the report deals with the results of studies of two series of cases on parole (1,628 paroled from the Wisconsin State Reformatory, 1933-35, and 1,129 cases on parole from the Wisconsin State Prison, 1935-37) and of 2,819 cases placed on probation to the State Board by the judges of the state in 1933-35. The results of these studies are also compared with the findings of subsequent prediction studies in this field.

Of fifty-five categories that were used for correlations, ten factors were singled out as representative of all factors. Numerous tables are used to show correlations of various items. From this study the authors conclude that "in Wisconsin, assuming that conditions remain the same as during the period covered by the study, the clemency-authority should consider carefully the following factors in the history of the applicants:

(1) nature of the crime for which convicted; (2) whether employed at the date of the crime; (3) the size of the community from which the applicant came; (4) the age of the applicant; (5) previous criminal history; and (6) number of accomplices." The factors favorable to success include living in places having a population of 999 and under, older at the time of commitment and at the date of application of clemency, no previous criminal record, and no accomplices. The factors favorable to failure include being unemployed when arrested, residence in places of 100,000 and more, between ages 21 and 23 at the time of conviction and under age 29 at the time of application for clemency, previous criminal history, and two or more accomplices. These factors are not considered as exhaustive or as infallible guides, but they are indicative of types of factors that may lead to success or failure on parole or probation.

M.H.N.

VERS UN SOCIOLOGIE NOUVELLE. By Michel Rimet. Le Havre: Imprimerie Etaix, 1952, pp. 156.

Rimet presents an index to recent sociological thinking in France. In the first part of the book he presents his philosophy of science and its role in the history of Western culture. Special emphasis is given to the history of social thought.

The second part is more specifically sociological and definitely in the Gallic tradition. He acknowledges his debt to Comte's analysis and classification of the sciences. He sees sociology as static in Comte, however, but dynamic in Durkheim. As the latter overlooked the role of the individual, Freud must be included in order to account for motivation. This has a familiar ring in America, less so in France, especially when he adds that Max Weber must be revered for his comprehension of the "ethnic, temperamental, and cultural heritage of each collectivity."

He concludes with a discussion of methodology. He denotes four principal methods: (1) the monographic (Le Play with his intensive analysis of a given community or family group), (2) the historic or genetic (Durkheim and the French school generally), (3) the statistical (polling studies), and (4) the psychoanalytic, which may be applied to any of the others. In addition, geographic influences are to be considered in all these methods, especially the first two. From the American viewpoint, the book is somewhat lacking in documentation, but is a pleasant essay on the necessity of applying empiricism in sociology.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
Los Angeles City College

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. A Text with Readings. By Ronald Freedman, Amos H. Hawley, Werner S. Tandecker, Horace M. Miner, and Guy E. Swanson. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1952, pp. xx+683.

This is a text developed at the University of Michigan for beginning students in sociology. In the Preface, however, it is explained that the term *Principles of Sociology* does not really mean principles but "sociological hypotheses." A special feature of this book is the readings which are introduced into each chapter, thus giving the student the advantage of a text and appropriate readings available in one book. The book reveals a weakness still evident in sociological thought when it is suggested that the teacher may follow a different order of the chapters from that given by the authors, thus indicating that sociology is not yet a generally acceptable systematic organization of thought. The emphasis on a sequence of group, structure, function, and science adds another pattern for sociological thinking to the many presented in other texts; it deserves a fair hearing.

E.S.B.

POPULATION AND ITS DISTRIBUTION. Seventh Edition, 1951. Compiled by J. Walter Thompson Company. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952, pp. 428. Three sections.

This volume provides a picture of the population of the United States in terms of markets. Most of the statistical material is a summary of the 1950 Census, with changes noted since 1940. The introductory section gives a summary of population growth, birth and death rates, marriages and households, longevity and mortality, aging of our population, farm population, metropolitan areas, concentration and migration. The bulk of the book contains summary tables, maps, and descriptive material of 162 metropolitan markets, classified into four categories; 436 smaller urban markets, classified into two groups; market classifications, by states, of counties, cities, and towns; and an alphabetical list of all incorporated and unincorporated places over 1,000 population. A large, colored working map showing the different classes of markets and their locations is included.

The 162 metropolitan markets and 436 smaller urban markets account for 70.2 per cent of the population and 77.8 per cent of the nation's total retail sales, which is indicative of the urbanization trend, especially the growth of the large population aggregations. The book not only is valuable from the marketing point of view but represents a handy reference book for social scientists.

M.H.N.

STATISTICS FOR SOCIOLOGISTS. By Margaret J. Hagood and Daniel O. Price. New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1952, pp. 575.

A good book has been made better through a complete revision, especially in reference to latest methods in statistics and current illustrations of statistical problems. Many students found the first edition of this work rather bulky, but this criticism has been eliminated by the reduction of extraneous materials. More attention has been given to sampling methods than formerly. A lucid chapter on factor and analysis has been added that serves as a concluding chapter to the text.

Part I examines the nature of quantitative methods in sociology with special attention to sources of data and methods for gathering data. "Descriptive Statistics" is the title of Part II. Here the student will find a discussion of ratios, rates, proportions, measures of central tendencies, measures of dispersion, scales, and time series. In Part III inductive statistics consist of induction and estimation, the normal curve, sampling distributions, and various tests of significance. The concluding part of the work discusses the topics of contingency, variance, correlation and regression, covariance, multiple and partial correlation and regression, and factor analysis. One of the chief virtues of this text is that a minimum exposure to formal mathematics is necessary to grasp the statistical methods presented. This text should go a long way in making statistics a more rewarding experience for the average graduate student in sociology.

E.C.M.

POETRY AS EXPERIENCE. By Norman C. Stageberg and Wallace L. Anderson. New York: American Book Company, 1952, pp. xxiii+518.

If human experiences are subject matter for sociology, then poetry is an important field for study, because poems "are made—out of life experiences—by individuals who have lived actively and thought freely," regarding all phases of life. The poet takes the raw experiences of life and makes them coherent and meaningful. He offers "a fuller comprehension of the ways human beings act and think and feel."

Moreover, the study of poetry is the study of human meanings. The poet puts ordinary experiences in a new light and brings out hidden meanings. A poem offers fresh and sprightly interpretations of experience and may modify or readjust a person's attitudes. The book is almost an anthology of poems arranged and analyzed with reference to many themes, including cultural background, the poem as response, indirection.

E.S.B.

THE PERSON OR THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAN. By Ralph Tyler Flewelling. Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1952, pp. xii+339.

This treatise is far more than a revision of the author's *Creative Personality*, which was published twenty-five years ago. It is virtually a new work in the field of personalism in which appears the ripe fruit of the author's thinking in recent years. The thirty-eight chapters comprise as many basically related essays on the personalistic interpretations of the universe. They are organized under five headings as follows: the person, the personal world, the world of persons, the person of persons, and the epilogue entitled *The Personal Field of Energy*. A useful glossary of terms is appended. A number of chapters bear a close relation to fundamental theory, such as the following: *In the Beginning Is the Act*, *Out of the World into It*, *The People as Continuum*, *Mass Production*, *The Personal World*, *Old Worlds for New*, *The Tragedy of the Lonely*, *Friendship without Capitulation*, and *The Person as a Field of Energy*. The author emphasizes effectively the basic role of philosophic thinking in human relations.

E.S.B.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE FUTURE. By Fr. Vinding Kruse, LL.D. New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1952, pp. 828.

The author is Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Copenhagen, and the book was published in Denmark by Blanco Lunos Bogtrykkeri.

The volume is divided into three books. Book 1, "A New Type of Man," discusses the problem of ethical values (both individual and social) and the ethical, aesthetical, and religious evaluations. Subtopics include the relation of morality, justice, and science, both individual and social ethics, a community founded on beauty. A conclusion is that the ultimate synthesis is the world and the life of man.

Book 2, "The Community and the Law," is concerned with the origin of society and law, the rule and purpose of law, the law in relation to the life of man, unlawful acts (acts that injure one's neighbor), the concept of guilt, and spiritual injury.

In Book 3, "A New Community," the author writes about personal rights, family law, and the law of inheritance, the right of property, the limits of this right, and the control by the community over property. Professor Kruse concludes that in a future of superabundance, the great social problems will continue, but they will be transferred to spiritual and intellectual spheres, "where they will be found just as difficult or

rather much more difficult as they were in the economic sphere." Also in Book 3 the right to earn is related to urban industrial development in different geographical areas, to the struggle for power, the use of the boycott, and the problems of the trust. Later on, the development of agriculture and the influence of law are presented in relation to reforms in Denmark in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The solution to the various problems is designated "The System of Preceptive Law," in which the economic concerns will be self-supporting with profits used for benefit of the company, of workers and employers, with the system costing the state nothing, while "the interests of the whole community are better secured through the preservation of private initiative under the system of preceptive rules." The last section in Book 3 deals with the constitution of the "new community," the principles of equality and freedom, the elite corps of electors who are to be chosen by what may broadly be called three major occupational groups. Power will be divided between legislative, administrative, and judicial "factors of power," with the courts entirely independent of the other two factors.

This voluminous book presents "an ideal for the development of society," but Professor Kruse points out in the Introduction that "the human society that is to come is first of all the *man* that is to come." The man will be dominated by "the spirit of self-control, chivalry and unselfishness." It is not always a simple matter for the reader to follow the interrelationships of the various sections of this book. While the approach is philosophical, Professor Kruse has developed a definite plan of social organization or reorganization related to the associations of men with each other, to industry and trade, and to the political organization of the state. The values stressed are justice and morality, high standards of ethics, both individual and social. B.A.MCC.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Robert E. L. Faris. New York: The Ronald Press, 1952, pp. vii+420.

For "much of the point of view and content of this work," the author expresses indebtedness to his father, Ellsworth Faris. He emphasizes social psychology's concern "with the person as a whole and as a product of group life," and does not move far away in this text from the concept of the person. He deals with those aspects of personal behavior "which are developed and controlled by the interaction which takes place between the individual and his small intimate circle of associations known as the primary group."

The major topics include the inadequacy of biological motivation, the individual aspect of motivation as found in general activity tendencies of the human organism, the canalization of general activities along particular lines by interaction and stimuli from the cultural and institutional environments, the emergence of self-consciousness in social interaction, the social determination of attitudes and beliefs, the social factor in ability, the differentiation of persons by variations of roles. An excellent concluding chapter treats the "trends and problems of social psychology." As far as the author has developed his theme, he has done a solid piece of work. However, it is not clear that social psychology does not include the impact of secondary groups, public opinion, and propaganda upon the canalization of personal activities. Perhaps the author will supplement this text with another dealing with secondary group influences upon personality organization and disorganization.

E.S.B.

CULTURAL SCIENCES—THEIR ORDER AND DEVELOPMENT. By
 Florian Znaniecki. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952, pp.
 viii+438.

Sociologist-philosopher Znaniecki's tentative hypothesis for this treatise is stated as follows: "Cultural order in general is an order of relationships among all kinds of human actions." *Cultural sciences* as a term is postulated to mean those sciences which deal with the "existence of a universal category of *cultural order* including all specific orders which students of culture have discovered or will discover." And sociology is the basic cultural science. In developing his argument for the realization of the hypothesis, the reader may recall Comte's attempt to establish sociology as the ultimate science. Znaniecki's hierarchy includes, first, the development of philosophy, followed by the emergence of the natural sciences, thus paving the way for the emergence of the cultural sciences. As these sciences "concentrate on objective, comparative investigation of specific human actions and their relationships," they gain independence and assure scientific progress in the study of mankind.

Developing his inquiries into the nature of sociology and its functional aspects as the basic cultural science, Znaniecki deals with, among other things, the metaphysical theories of universal order, theories of man, data of human experience, and the natural order among data. Sociology is defined as the science of human or social relations, and the primary phenomena to be studied are social actions. A social action is really an interactionary process through "which one individual, as given to another, is the object and which tends to influence the latter, to provoke

a reaction from him." Moreover, social actions are dynamic systems of values and "the cultural forces which influence the participation of human agents in every realm of culture."

The chapter on attitudes is significantly interesting if for no other reason than to demonstrate the altered thought of the author on the nature of attitudes since his collaboration with Thomas. Attitudes are classified as "realistic" and "ideational." The former refers to "definitions of situations by agents in the course of their actions"; the latter, to definitions of situations by writers and speakers which affect "directly not the actions to which they refer but thinking about actions and can even be indefinitely experienced as ideas. . ." Investigation of these ideational attitudes opens "the only road to scientific generalizations about human actions."

Assuming the role of an optimistic philosopher, Znaniecki hopes that all human problems will be entrusted to cultural scientists and that sociologists may function as "intellectual leaders in the ceaseless course of differentiation and integration of social roles and social groups throughout the world." While the main arguments of the book are simple and clear, author Znaniecki very often beclouds his arguments and indulges in metaphysical speculations while attempting to write as a scientist. Students may find the reading of the volume difficult and may even lose their way through some complexities of thought on the part of the author.

M.J.V.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF HUNGER. By Josue de Castro. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1952, pp. xii+337.

By hunger the author (of the University of Brazil) means not simply the absence of food, but the lack of a proper diet. In other words, there is a protein hunger, a vitamin hunger, a hunger for minerals, and other "hidden hungers."

A large section of the book describes the different areas of the world that are today suffering from food hunger and malnutrition. To wipe out this hunger, which among other things creates grave political problems, the author would have "the productive levels of marginal peoples and groups raised" and then have these peoples' economies integrated "into the world economic community." His concept of birth control is to raise the standards of living of people.

Along these lines is to be found the road to the survival of man. Not all readers will agree with some of the author's conclusions, such as,

"when diets are inadequate in proteins, nature multiplies the number of offspring so as to guarantee the continuation of the species." The reviewer suggests that more attention is needed not only to an increase in economic productivity, but to an equitable distribution of the products of human industry in each nation.

E.S.B.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT. Edited by Henry W. Spiegel. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1952, pp. xii+811.

In this unique source book of readings, the editor uses selections in which one writer discusses some of the ideas of another, e.g., Aristotle on Plato, Mill on Bentham, Veblen on Marx, Tawney on the Webbs, and so on. The forty-two selections appear under six headings: the Dawn of Economic Science, the Classical School, Socialists and Reformers, Historical and Institutional Approaches, the Rise of Marginalism, and the Growth of Modern Economics. While the organization of materials is not complete and the sequence of sections is not clear, the materials are a challenge to further reading in the fields represented.

SOZIOLOGISCHE FORSCHUNG UNSERER ZEIT. Edited by Karl G. Specht. Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1951, pp. 352.

This work honors Leopold von Wiese on his seventy-fifth birthday, with articles by German, French, and American sociologists. Although all three languages are represented, German naturally predominates. Several of the writers are former associates or students of Von Wiese. The organization of the book tells something of its contents: methodology, industrial and political sociology, sociology of knowledge and religion, and a miscellaneous section. The book commences with a review by Gurvitch of the development of sociology over the last fifty years and outlines some of the tasks that remain—among others, the relation between microsociology and macrosociology.

The volume happily demonstrates the increasing tendency in Germany toward empirical studies. Among the more distinguished field studies is the work of Geiger on stratification in a Danish town. Willems reports on the techniques of anthropological field study. Lee summarizes some aspects of organizational research.

Some original articles, although largely theoretical, are those on political sociology: on political ecology by Heberle, on a theory of power by Kossitsch, and on the influence of sociometry in the political sphere by Moreno. Regarding the sociology of industry, there are articles on such

problems as finance, insurance, and employment. In a concluding essay Christian Eckert reviews the life and contributions of Von Wiese and calls him "a pathfinder for truly scientific methods in sociology," as well as "a most stimulating teacher," the latter being demonstrated by his use of the "sociodrama" and "role-playing" in the seminar.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
Los Angeles City College

THEY LEARN WHAT THEY LIVE. *Prejudice in Young Children.* By Helen G. Traeger and Marian Radke Yarrow. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952, pp. xvii+392.

The purpose of this research, known as the Philadelphia Early Childhood Project, was "to show that children's attitudes could change, that teachers can help them change, and that teachers who are completely new to these problems can learn how to do this." The research team worked to produce awareness and then action, and they seem to have succeeded. In addition to studying children's attitudes toward racial and religious groups, teachers' attitudes, and parents' attitudes in the same connection, an experiment was carried out "on changing children's and teachers' attitudes and behavior."

In the experiment fifteen teachers from six schools; 500 children from kindergarten, first, and second grades; 100 parents and various administrative personnel participated. The first and second years of the Project were devoted to studies of children's attitudes and to training of the staff, and the third year to changing the attitudes, particularly of the children. The controlled experiment "was carried out as a group responsibility." The aim was "to help teachers build democratic attitudes in children." In examining children's attitudes a "social episodes" test and a "social roles" test were devised and used to good advantage. In changing children's attitudes two teaching conditions were set up: one "to support democratic intercultural values"; and the other, "to maintain or foster group prejudices common in our culture." The results show that "children learn prejudices not only from the larger environment but from the content of the curriculum and its values."

The teachers were interchanged in conducting the two types of teaching procedures, and they learned that "their values had effects on the children for good or ill," and they "could not escape making the comparison between their own teaching and the experimental roles," with a greater or lesser change taking place in their attitudes. The techniques and results of this Project cannot be studied too widely or too thoroughly by educators in particular and the public in general. E.S.B.

INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY. Fourth Edition. By Robert L. Sutherland, Julian L. Woodward, and Milton A. Maxwell. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1952, pp. xii+596.

While most of the original plan of organization of this book has been retained, a large portion of the material as given in the first edition (fifteen years ago) has been rewritten. New introductory case illustrations are given. A double-column style of printing has been adopted and a wide use of pictures and charts has been made. A new type face also gives this widely known textbook a fresh appearance. E.S.B.

THE NATURE OF CULTURE. By A. L. Kroeber. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952, pp. xiii+436.

The author includes in this text selected papers of his professional writings relating to culture. There are fifty separate papers which were written from 1901 to 1951; five are published for the first time. The papers are presented in five sections: (1) Theory of Culture, (2) Kinship and Social Structure, (3) On American Indians, (4) Psychologically Slanted, and (5) History and the Process of Civilization. More than half of the fifty articles date from 1939, sixteen from the last six years, 1946-52.

Kroeber says, "There exists an anomalous situation under which the primarily social segment can be set off either more or less radically from others. Anthropologists view societal forms and activities as an outright part of culture and as conditioned by and along with it. Sociologists, on the contrary, see society as primary, to which culture is related by some sort of extension, if not derivation. This unresolved divergence is the more remarkable in that anthropological and sociological theory seem now to be rather close together on other essential points, their differences lying largely in outlook, scope, and weighting of interest—such as the biological, linguistic, and historic proclivities of anthropology and the practical inclinations of sociology."

The book presents a method of understanding human culture. The fifty papers constitute a variety which compensates for the lack of outward order in presentation. Cross references and a terminal index of principal cross references clarify restatements of points and give the book increased continuity.

The author follows the development of theories of culture over half a century. Students will find this volume an important source of knowledge about culture and a convenient reference work to Kroeber's writings.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

DARWIN: COMPETITION AND COOPERATION. By Ashley Montagu.
New York: Henry Schuman, 1952, pp. 148.

Although not questioning the greatness of Darwin, Professor Montagu points out the incompleteness in Darwinianism and of so-called "social Darwinianism." The incompleteness is found in the lack of emphasis on the cooperative element in evolution including human evolution. Not only is there a lack of stress on cooperation, but cooperation is not seen in Darwinianism as basic to competition and as making competition possible. The author has marshaled a large number of statements from a variety of sources in support of the fundamental role of cooperation in the development of life and particularly of human life.

Competition is viewed as being relatively superficial, superimposed by nature "on an essential mutual dependence." The emphasis on competition—as given by Darwin, Spencer, and others—is considered, not as expressing normal life, but as a conception derived from a study of the "predatory industrial civilization" of mercantile days. It is pointed out that war is unnatural, that "no other creature than man makes war," and that "man is the only creature which makes organized attacks, war, upon its own species." The importance of the concept of cooperation receives a noteworthy boost as a result of the thinking and writings of Professor Montagu.

E.S.B.

READINGS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. Revised Edition. By Guy E. Swanson, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952, pp. xix+680.

Although this revision follows in five years the appearance of the original edition, its materials are about 50 per cent new. This fact is a testimony to the great increase in appearance of printed reports of research experiments in social psychology in recent years. It shows how fluid and perhaps dynamic is the relatively new social science of social psychology.

In the choice of new materials the original staff of editors has had the assistance of other social psychologists, notably from Canada, England, and Australia. Thus, experimental social psychology is branching out beyond the "American" field to include at least the English-speaking world. The organization of the new edition has been improved, but its "readings" continue to be arranged around the concept of interaction patterns and their effects on human individuals.

E.S.B.

GENETICS IN THE 20TH CENTURY. Edited by L. C. Dunn. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951, pp. xi+634.

In this book are the papers prepared by a group of genetical experts for the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Genetics held at Ohio State University in September 1950. Half a century of progress in genetics reveals its impact upon scientific knowledge as applied to plants, animals, man, and "to the whole world of microorganisms, bacteria and viruses." The contributors have been doing their work in England, France, Sweden, and the United States, but other geneticists in many other countries are busy in similar research.

Some of the topics discussed are the development of the gene theory, the relation of genes to chromosomes, cell heredity, genetics and disease resistance, the cancer problem, and plant and animal breeding. The series opens with an interesting essay by Richard B. Goldschmidt on the influence of genetics upon science in general and concludes with Julian Huxley's enlightening remarks upon "Genetics, Evolution and Human Destiny." The discoveries made and the experimental work now being done in laboratories have succeeded in building up hope for what Huxley calls "a consciously directed evolution of the future." The twenty-six reports of genetical progress made in fifty years are at least indicative of many successes made by man in his endeavors to understand and improve both his physical and social environments.

M.J.V.

CRUSADE. The Fight for Economic Democracy in North America, 1921-1945. By Roy F. Bergengren. New York: Exposition Press, 1952, pp. 379.

With collaborators Agnes C. Gartland and James W. Brown, the author has produced a detailed history of the credit union movement in the United States. While giving credit to a long list of collaborators, Mr. Bergengren's own life has been so largely a part of this vital social movement that the book becomes in a real way an autobiography of a dynamic person giving his life for the expression of a far-reaching idea. Repeatedly the author returns to the life and character of the main benefactor of and believer in the credit union type of cooperative, namely, Edward A. Filene. Deeply deserved are the tributes paid to the leaders of the Antigonish Movement of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, Drs. J. J. Tompkins and M. M. Coady.

Mr. Bergengren has been chiefly instrumental in giving the credit union movement its legal structure and in getting the first several

thousand credit unions organized and coordinated into a vast international body (United States and Canada) that seeks "to free man from slavery to money," to furnish credit without profits to honest, hard-working deserving people, and to foster thrift. The title of the book has been happily chosen by the credit union's chief crusader. E.S.B.

THE TREE OF HUMAN HISTORY. By Alan Houghton Brodrick. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. xii+253.

This connected account of the events which led up to the appearances of more recent civilizations is written for the nonspecialist by a British author. Considerably more attention is given to pre-Columbian America and ancient China than in other works about early history. The book is written in story form, with lively descriptions of early events.

Concise early histories are given of the Americas, China, India, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, Iran and Asia Minor, Crete, the Aegean and Greece, Italy, and non-Mediterranean Europe. Those who are interested in the origins of civilizations will find this book informative and, above all, interestingly written. M.H.N.

DEMOCRACY AND THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE. By Robert M. MacIver. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952, pp. 86.

In these five lectures delivered on the William C. Cook Foundation at the University of Michigan, Professor MacIver deals with the subjects of Public Economic Power, Private Economic Power, Democracy, and the Planned Economy and its meaning for America. He holds that the means that communism uses, namely, regimentation, terrorism, and ruthless control over life and thought, must forever defeat any democratic ends that it proclaims. It sees society in negatives, that is, as classless and stateless. It has "no sense of community." Why are these facts the way they are? Because communism was "born in hatred and bred in violence."

Socialism is to be distinguished from communism, for it is not "a matter of all or nothing. It can exist in any degree." In fact socialism "always does exist, in every state, in some degree." Although it is a "re-attachment of all economic power to the state authority," it identifies "the state with the whole people," and not with a ruling, self-perpetuating class or caste.

The needed goal, according to the author, however, is not communism, socialism, or capitalism, but "a flexible system far more suited for the

promotion of human values and far more expressive of the particular genius of each people than any imposed and predetermined pattern." It will liberate every man's capacities in the direction of the cause of democracy. It will avoid "the fallacy of the left, the profound and soul-destroying fallacy that socialism means democracy, and the fallacy of the right, which has its own dangers and is a source of serious confusion, the fallacy that capitalism means democracy." It is important that the United States live up to a high democratic ideal, since she is "called upon by destiny to be the exemplar and the champion of democracy before the world"; hence, we must give practical proof in our human relations that we believe in our democratic creed. We must "sustain the whole civilization" from which we have developed and "thrust back the deadliest enemy this civilization has ever faced." This is no namby-pamby treatise. It is forthright and challenging to the most careful thinking that any reader can produce.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL FICTION

THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA. By Ernest Hemingway. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952, pp. 140.

Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* is being hailed as one of the best and most exciting fishing stories ever told. But it is more than merely that. Through the artistry of the novelist, the simplicity of the story is made to shine with as much phosphorescence as the sea in which the old man is fishing. The old man is a Cuban named Santiago, who for eighty-four days running had been without luck and who had even been looked upon with suspicion by the other fishermen for his prolonged failures. His helper and friend, a young boy, Manolin, had been forced by his parents to take up with luckier fishermen. In his solitude, Santiago decided that a man must have faith in himself and courage in his humility. In his adversity, he found philosophic sermons and a call to take himself out into the Gulf Stream farther than any other fisherman had as yet dared to go. He must bring back the biggest and most beautiful fish of all.

Far out from the Cuban shore and hours away from it, a huge marlin finally seizes the baited hook. The baited creature is beautiful but powerfully strong. Poor old Santiago's endurance in bringing him near to the skiff is tested to the utmost. "God help me endure. I'll say a hundred Our Fathers and a hundred Hail Marys. But I cannot say them now."

"Fish," the old man said, "Fish, you are going to have to die anyway. Do you have to kill me too?" What a fortune for Santiago—fifteen hundred pounds at thirty cents a pound! The return to port marked another trial, for sharks appeared. By the time shore is reached, his harpoon has been lost along with his knife and club, and the marlin has been reduced to a skeleton. If only it had not been so huge, he might have been able to haul it into the boat instead of lashing it along the side.

Dragging his skiff upon the shore, he asks himself: "What beat you?" "I went too far." Was he really beaten? He had justified himself as a fisherman, for he had caught the fish. His only mistake was in going out too far. The villagers came down and saw the skeleton of the fish, eighteen feet long. Never had there been a fish of that size and with such a handsomely formed tail. No longer would the other fishermen remain aloof from Santiago. His fight against the loneliness of isolation had been won. And Manolin would see to it that the old man would have his company and help on the next trip. Human suffering combined with indomitable courage and nobility of faith had made for the recognition of Santiago as a man to be respected. For him, a new status rating!

M.J.V.

MOTION PICTURE NOTES

Cry, the Beloved Country.

The persons who have read Alan Paton's outstanding work which has the title that has been given to this film will be greatly interested in the picture because it follows the book with reasonable faithfulness. The fact that Mr. Paton had a controlling hand in fashioning the scenario guarantees that what changes were necessary in order to put a 278-page book into a 1½-hour film would not distort the story in any important way.

As in the book, the chief film character is a Kaffir minister, thoroughly devoted not only to his own people, the so-called Natives in the Union of South Africa, but to basic human values, whether expressed in the lives of black or white people. His is a dramatic role in both book and film. His life is filled with great service and great tragedy. Against the backdrop of his deep, spiritual character are seen the dire effects of life in Johannesburg on the Natives who have migrated from rural areas in order to get employment. Since the rural Reserves do not furnish enough productive resources to provide a livelihood, many of the young people who are Natives seek the city, only to find themselves compelled to live

in the cheapest of hovels with the worst of evil forces influencing them and their little children by day and especially by night. Without overdoing the scenes, the film dramatizes these inhuman living conditions.

The minister's son goes to Johannesburg, falls into evil company, kills a white man, and is sentenced to death. To make the suffering of the great-hearted minister more poignant, it turns out that the murdered white man has been devoting his life to efforts for improving the lot of Natives in South Africa. Moreover, the man who is murdered is the son of a white supervisor of farming in a Native reserve, who, however, from a state of potential hate turns into a benefactor of the Native minister's people, chiefly because of the minister's noble and humble character and in memory of his own son's lifework. The film tells its story of the need for fair play and social justice in South Africa with marked effectiveness. Its closing words in prose express the hope that someday, no one knows when, there will come an end to "the fear of bondage and to the bondage of fear."

E.S.B.

Rashomon.

If you can still catch *Rashomon*, a Japanese film, at one of the neighborhood theaters and want to see some unusual but brilliant acting in a drama that bristles with the portrayal of the basic urges of man, by all means go. Interpreted, the title means "In the Forest." The movie captured the grand prize at the Venice Film Festival in 1951, probably not only because of its penetratingly brittle and keen-edged characterizations but also because of its magnificent photography, caught to fit the mood of the story, and its admirable and subtle direction.

The opening scene occurs amidst the ruins of a Buddhist temple. Here a sheltered woodcutter and a priest are found talking about a hideous crime. Their listener is a captious stranger. Flashbacks are employed to show the trial of the accused and four versions of the killing of a samurai are given. The man was walking through the forest with his wife when he found himself beset. While being held a prisoner, he is forced to witness the raping of his wife. Thereafter, he is murdered. The woodcutter passes by and finds the dead samurai. During the trial, the barbaric bandit gives his explanations of the affair, the sobbing widow gives hers, and the dead man, through the aid of a medium, gives his. The woodcutter recites his version, since it turns out that he has been an eyewitness. In his story, the woodman bitterly recounts the depravity and the brutal rottenness of man. Every one of them utters falsehoods about the actual event, lies purposely told to ease feelings of guilt.

The story told in this manner is reminiscent of Munsterberg's *On the Witness Stand*. As illustrative of the naked drives of recognition, security, adventure, and even response, the film is unforgettable. Human selfishness, sensuousness, bitter hatred, and animal cruelty wander through the re-enactment of the versions of the crime. Out of keeping somewhat with the main story is the happy ending attached. The three persons in the temple find an abandoned babe, and the woodcutter declares he will act as protector and father to it, thus restoring the priest's faith in humanity. For the Hollywood addicted, the pace of the film may seem disturbingly slow, but, despite this, it should provide for those who like it an educational evening in the cinema temple. M.J.V.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

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MEDICAL PUBLIC RELATIONS. A Study of the Public Relations Program of the Academy of Medicine of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio, 1951. By Edgar A. Schuler, Robert J. Mowitz, Albert J. Mayer. Detroit: Health Information Foundation, 1952, pp. 228.

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